THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOL. 110, NO. 3 NEW YORK, MONDAY, JANUARY 17, 1944 NUMBER 1520

Germans in Retreat

Russia has not waited for the Anglo-American invasion of Western Europe. Her forces are plunging ahead into what was formerly Poland and by January 10 were close enough to the Rumanian border to give the government of that country an acute case of jitters. For a long time, no one could be sure whether the Germans were retreating voluntarily or under Russian pressure; but this doubt is now ended. The German retreat is steadily growing more chaotic and presents a real danger of disintegration of the Nazi forces. It is a stroke of great good fortune for the Allies that Hitler thinks of himself as a military genius. Repeatedly, his orders have resulted in disaster to the Germans. It was he who demanded the foolish stand at Stalingrad, the holding of the Dnieper at any cost, and the recapture of Kiev.

German propaganda has suddenly turned very gloomy and while this may be a propaganda trick to engender overconfidence among the Allies, it may also be an expression, for once, of a genuine and well deserved pessimism about the outlook.

The Jet-Propelled Airplane

While the Germans have been boasting about secret weapons which don't materialize, the United Nations have come up with a real one. The jet-propelled airplane, the invention of a captain in the RAF, represents the first practical application of principles on which scores of men have been working for many years. It will give us in the near future fighter planes with greatly increased speed, perhaps 500 or 600 miles an hour. Eventually, it should give us much improved bombers as well, faster, more maneuverable and with greater weight available for armament or bomb loads. The ultimate applications to civilian aircraft sound very exciting indeed.

It is a pity that news of the invention could not have been suppressed until it was actually in combat. Apparently the trial flights in England had attracted so much attention that the authorities were convinced the Germans knew what was going on, and therefore we decided to exploit the announcement for its value as psychological warfare. Neither this nor any other single invention is likely to win the war; but this one will help accelerate the process of victory which was already in high gear.

The Sherman Act and Cartels

One of the great problems facing the democratic countries in the postwar era is that of international cartels. It is possible to act with greater or less success against trusts at home through such instrumentalities as the Sherman Anti-Trust Act; but we have not yet worked out techniques adequate to handle worldwide monopoly arrangements. Before the war, the rubber cartel at one time raised the price of rubber in the United States to an outrageous level. The tin cartel has prevented tin smelting from taking place except in a few places in the world and has put this country in a dubious position in regard to its military security. The quinine cartel has kept the price of its product throughout the world so high that millions of poor people in the tropics cannot afford the cost of treatment to counteract the ravages of malaria. Everyone now knows how Germany made various cartel agreements with big American industrial firms which were

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PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1944, IN THE U.S.A. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879
PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

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intended by the Nazis to benefit the German war machine and to disadvantage American military preparedness. Throughout the world, all cartels tend to raise prices, restrict production and discourage technological advance. It is no exaggeration to say that unless we can get the cartels under control, our Western democracy will never function as it should.

In the light of these facts, there is special interest in the news that the United States Government has just indicted three important firms under the Sherman Act. Two of them are American: the E. I. duPont de Nemours Company and Remington Arms. One of them is British: the Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd. Apparently the German chemical trust, I. G. Farbenindustrie, would have been included if it were not for the war. Assistant Attorney General Wendell Berge charges that these firms conspired together to control the trade in chemicals, firearms and ammunition throughout the world. He says that they offer a good example of the cartel system which "has plagued us with shortages of critical materials, lack of know-how and industrial skills during the war, and unemployment and idle plants during the peace." The agreements between the British and American firms began before 1920 and have several times been renewed. Germany was first included in 1925.

This suit is a partial answer to people like Lord McGowan, an official of the ICI, who has been demanding publicly that the United States should drop its opposition to cartels. Lord McGowan is all for bigger and better monopolies. The outcome of the suit now pending in Washington will be watched with the greatest interest. For the reasons given above, its consequences will be far-reaching indeed.

Charged with Sedition

A year ago, about thirty men and women were given federal indictments charging them with sedition; for reasons never made clear, the cases were not brought to trial. Now twenty of them have been reindicted, and eight others added. It is to be hoped that the trials will now take place promptly. The new indictments charge the defendants with direct connections with Nazi Germany, saying that they "unlawfully, willfully, feloniously and knowingly conspired and agreed together and with each other and with officials of the government of the German Reich and leaders of the Nazi party" to break down the morale of the American armed forces.

Of those indicted for the first time the most important are Lawrence Dennis and Joseph E. McWilliams. Among those indicted on both occasions are George E. Deatherage, William Dudley Pelley, James True, Edward James Smythe, Robert Edward Edmondson, George Sylvester Viereck (already serving one to five years for violating the Foreign Agents' Registration Act), Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling, Gerald B. Winrod, Charles B. Hudson, Robert Noble and Ellis O. Jones.

No doubt the question will arise in some people's minds as to how this case differs from that of the Minneapolis Trotsykists, whose severe prison sentences many liberals have protested. The terms of the new indictment should make the difference reasonably clear. The Minneapolis Trotskyists were advocating revolution theoretically and in a vacuum. There was no possibility of their doing any real harm. The community animus against them rose out of their activities as strikers, not as revolutionists. The new sedition indictments charge that the defendants coöperated with a country with which the United States is at war, to the aid of that country and to the harm of our own. If these individuals are guilty as charged, they deserve no sympathy and should be severely punished.

Bolivia and Argentina

What is the character of the new regime in Bolivia? Its American unofficial spokesman, Enrique de Lozada, insists that it is democratic and anti-Axis. He offers a number of pieces of evidence: ratification of the declaration of war on the Axis, a promise to take measures against Axis properties, a reaffirmation that Bolivia will live up to her promises regarding inter-American solidarity and coöperation, measures to give us her quinine and tin, restoration of civil liberties, a promise of free elections in May and steps toward the recognition of Russia.

But on the other side of the ledger are several disagreeable facts. Some of the members of the junta are certainly anti-Semitic and pro-Nazi. The Ramirez government of Argentina, which is now openly fascist, was the first to recognize the new regime. Secretary Hull says that "forces outside of Bolivia, and unfriendly to the defense of the American republics, inspired and aided" the Bolivian overturn. Mr. Hull's statement, of course, must be read in the light of the fact that the United States nowadays is supporting almost any sort of Latin American government provided only it is reasonably friendly to us. In Bolivia we have in the past had connections with the big capitalists and their government spokesmen, which have made the common people of Bolivia hostile to us. There is no doubt that the Argentine fascists have been plotting to bring about totalitarian revolutions in a number of other Latin American countries and there is reason to believe that Argentina was implicated in the Bolivian coup d'état. The best thing the United States and Great Britain could do would be to crack down hard on Argentina and on the Franco regime in Spain, which is primarily responsible for the pro-Axis orientation of the Ramirez group. A good way to begin would be for us to stop buying meat from Argentina and stop sending her machinery and other materials which she badly needs.

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Exit the C. P.

The American Communist Party now proposes to cut its own throat. The National Committee will recommend to the convention of the party next May that it go out of business, to be succeeded by an "educational organization" which might be called, for instance, the American Communist Political Association.

This move is a very tardy recognition of the march of events. The American Communist Party, whose spiritual home is in Moscow, long ago ceased to have any interest in communism as such, leaving that job to the much abused Trotskyists. From the moment that Germany attacked Russia, the American Communists became the most fervent 100-percent win-the-war group imaginable. Meanwhile the wild gyrations of the party line, which fluctuated according to what the comrades were told, or imagined, suited the temporary convenience of Moscow, had shaken loose most of the party members and fellow travelers with much intelligence and self-respect. No doubt the ultimate fate of the Communists will depend upon the direction Russia herself takes when the war is over. Meanwhile, the comrades are right in one point. American's future progressive orientation will be the work of Americans, following the traditions of this country, and entirely devoid of superior allegiance to any foreign power.

Mosley Aftermath

The bitterness of feeling created by the release of Sir Oswald Mosley has not subsided. A London correspondent reports that Herbert Morrison has jeopardized his whole future political career by his action. Mr. Morrison seems lamentably out of touch with public opinion. "He still holds to the view that the storm was artificially fomented by the Communists, whom he regards as his inveterate enemies, whereas there is in reality no doubt at all that the popular anger was widespread and genuine." Our correspondent quotes as typical a recent exchange at a public meeting addressed by Mr. Morrison:

Morrison: I have a hunch that history will be on my side—

Heckler: Sir Oswald Mosley will.

Morrison: Though perhaps I won't live long enough to see it.

Heckler: You won't.

Morrison: I see you want me to die, too. I'm still alive.

Heckler: Worse luck.

Morrison: I never saw such an unfriendly fellow. I bet he starts his letters "Dear Comrade" and ends "Yours fraternally."

Heckler: Like yours to Mosley.

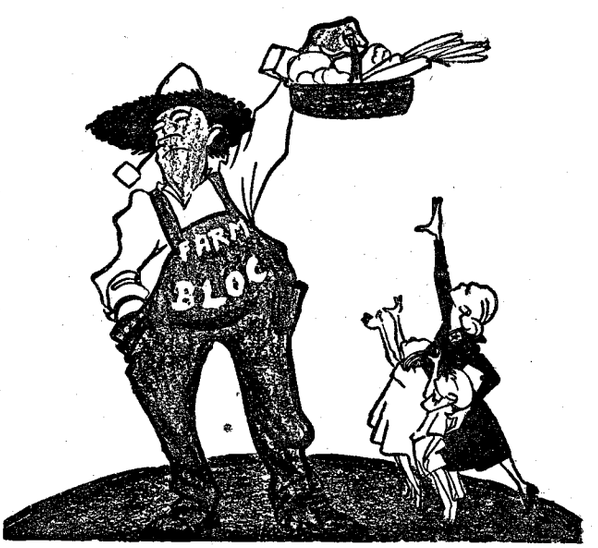
The result? Morrison has become one of the least popular men of the day among trade unionists, and Morrison's reciprocal reaction to the unions may increase his willingness to serve in a postwar coalition government. The Tories are delighted. But, whatever the effect on the political balance of power, the agitation is a testament to the power which the common people could exert. It is also a reminder to the government that behind the offices of Whitehall where the reconstruction plans are now being created is a restless public prepared to make its voice heard.

The Ban on Esquire

The Post Office Department recently held a solemn hearing to decide whether Esquire Magazine should have its second-class mailing privilege revoked. After some extremely weird testimony pro and con, the board of three judges decided Esquire was all right. Now, however, Postmaster General Frank C. Walker has overruled his own board and decided to take away the magazine's second-class privilege, at an annual cost, it is estimated, of $500,000 to $750,000. The publishers have announced they will apply for an injunction and take the case to the Supreme Court, if necessary. We hope they will; they will certainly win, and thus overthrow one of the most ridiculous actions of a Post Office Department which has rather specialized, of late, in being ridiculous. It is true that Esquire goes in heavily for sex; it is also true that its preoccupation with this subject displays the unhealthy overreaction which is the product of a morbidly puritanical civilization. But it is ridiculous to suppose that Esquire does any real harm; moreover, Mr. Walker doesn't propose to stop the circulation of the magazine, but merely to make it more expensive. Perhaps he will have the good sense to rescind his order before he gets slapped in the face by a United States court.

Mr. Dewey and the Food Scare

For weeks now, delegations from New York State have been besieging Washington officials, demanding action against what they described as a plot by Gov. Thomas E. Dewey to discredit the administration through a phony food scare. They brought their proof with them. Officials were impressed but were reluctant to mix into this bitter dispute.



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Now finally, Sen. Joe Guffey (D, Pa.), specialist in handling political firecrackers, has blasted the Dewey forces, accusing them of making food and farm problems a "political football."

"They have cried about food shortages, milk shortages and reduced living standards of the people at the very time they have urged farmers to hoard feed and reduce production," Guffey charges. "There is no shortage of feed supplies in New York and the Northeast. Supplies are almost double those of three years ago. Yet Governor Dewey, through his Food Commission and its allies . . . aided and abetted by Frank Gannett, has stirred up farmers and city consumers with stories of impending famine and loss of dairy herds. It is the rankest kind of partisan politics, absolutely inexcusable in wartime. It is demoralizing to the home front, a disgrace to the great State of New York and a blot on the record of the Governor. . . . It is time for the country to wake up to what goes on, and why."

Prussian Militarism

Many Americans these days talk about "Prussianism" or "Prussian militarism." Usually the phrase is employed only as a synonym for "Nazism." In the interest of accuracy, however, it is well to remember a point made effectively in a recent issue of The New Statesman and Nation (London). Says this paper:

> It sounded like old times to hear Mr. Churchill denouncing "Prussian militarism" last week, and coupling it with Nazism. But much that was true about Prussia before 1914 went out of date pretty completely after 1918. The Prussia of the Hohenzollerns was the stronghold of an authoritarian and militaristic conservatism because its Diet, which anyhow had limited powers, was elected by the famous Three-Class Franchise—perhaps the most ingenious, but also the most iniquitous, form of propertied franchise that Old World Europe could show. But from 1919 onwards, when it got universal and equal franchise, Prussia became the most advanced—one might even say the most radical—state in the Reich. Throughout the fourteen years of the Republic it was governed by Left Coalitions with the Social Democrats as the dominant party. It voted Left right up to the final crisis at the end of 1932, when von Papen made his coup d'état and overthrew them with Hindenburg's help. This, after all, is not surprising, for while Prussia contains, in the north, rural areas dominated by the great Junker estates, it also includes the most densely peopled industrial districts, whose workers in those days voted pretty solidly Socialist or Communist. Hamburg was, after Vienna, the most advanced of the great cities of Europe in its political opinions. Berlin and the Ruhr towns were not far behind it.
>
> In this matter of Prussia, and in some others, we shall have to get our views of Germany up to date before we think out the settlement after this war. Prussia was never the Nazi stronghold. It so happens that not a single one of the chief Nazi leaders is a Prussian. Hitler and Bormann are Austrians; Goering, Himmler and Streicher are Bavarians; Goebbels is a Rhinelander, and Rosenberg, a Balt, while Hess was brought up in Egypt. The enemy in Prussia is not the mass of the population, which tended by majority to vote Left, but the twin ruling caste of Junkers and the magnates of the heavy industrial cartels. The way to deal with Prussia is not to dismember it, but to depose this governing caste. If, as a group of Tory MP's proposes, the Rhineland and Ruhr were cut away from the rest of the Reich, Prussia would move a good deal further to the Right. One obvious thing to do is what both Weimar and Hitler promised but never carried out—to break up the great feudal estates of the north.

Oswald Stein

A few days ago Oswald Stein, assistant director of the International Labor Office, was killed instantly in a fall from a railway train near Montreal. Only a comparatively small number of professional people understand how great is the loss occasioned by his death. Stein, his associates say, was largely responsible for keeping the ILO and the spirit of supra-national organization alive through this war. In recent years he had helped all the governments in the Western Hemisphere set up their social-security systems and had acted as an informal court of appeals for technical men in this field. The Rockefeller Office was indebted to him for valuable assistance in establishing the Inter-American Agricultural Committee and in various other projects which needed his kind of delicate touch. Secretary of Labor Perkins has said that "his work in the promotion of social security has resulted in improvement in the condition of life throughout the Western Hemisphere." We can ill afford to lose so talented and experienced an "ambassador of social justice" at a time when our greatest fights on this front are about to begin.

Fireside to Farmers[1]

MY FRIENDS: As you know, I have a farm, and although I cannot be called a real dirt farmer, I wish I deserved that honor and pleasure. There is nothing I like better than living in the country and helping things to grow. I know something, at least, of the hard work, the unpredictable perils and disasters from a host of natural enemies, and the triumphs and satisfactions too, that go with all forms of agriculture.

Because I have a farm, I read many of the papers and magazines which are published for farmers, and the material sent out by farmers' organizations. I have been struck recently by the things these papers and bulletins have been saying about food subsidies. They say that farmers are against subsidies, and they give very appealing reasons why farmers should be against them. All sturdy American citizens should stand on their own feet instead of running to the government for help. Farmers would rather earn their money by selling their produce in the free market for what it

[1] Any resemblance between the style of this article and that of any living person is purely coincidental.

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will bring than be subject to a complicated system of rules and bureaucratic administration. City consumers now have more money than they ever had in their lives, and can afford to pay fair prices for farm products. It is true that prices of food have gone up, but so have the wages of farm labor, even if the farmers can obtain it in competition with the high pay offered by war industries. The farmers are short of machinery, gasoline, feed and many other necessities; they are working harder than ever without ever thinking of an eight-hour day, and they deserve all that they get for it.

I know how strongly these arguments must appeal to farmers. I also know that while the great majority of farmers want a square deal for themselves, they also believe that others should have a square deal. If we are not going to have food subsidies, and farmers are going to stand only on their own feet, the one honest thing is to abolish subsidies right across the board, and cease all government intervention to help agriculture. I am therefore going to make to you a proposal which it seems to me any honest man would regard as fair. In the past few months I have insisted on the need for food subsidies to control inflation. I will immediately cease this support if farm organizations and representatives in their turn will consent to the abolition of all other subsidies to farmers and all special privileges and aids extended to agriculture by government. These things are not usually mentioned by the farm spokesmen who attack food subsidies.

What would this proposal involve? The high price of food is largely due to our tariff on grains. Let us wipe out the tariff and import more feed. Let us ease the beef situation by abolishing the restrictions which prevent American consumers from eating South American beef. Let us do something about the butter shortage by repealing the laws which restrict the sale of margarine and keep up its price. In 1942 the government paid out checks to farmers for benefit, soil conservation and parity payments of about $700,00,000. In the first nine months of 1943 these payments ran $42,000,000 higher than in the same months of 1942. Let us stop these payments.

Ever since the days of the great depression, the government has been striving to maintain what are called parity prices for farm products. One of the important ways of doing so is to lend farmers money based on a certain price for their crops, taking the crops as security. If prices fall below the loan value, farmers never are required to pay these loans, the government taking possession of the crops in storage. Congress has established legal restrictions about the sale of these government-owned supplies, restrictions which have in certain cases aggravated the food and feed crisis. Since most crops are above parity now anyway, let us repeal all these restrictions and dip as far as necessary into our "ever-normal granary." And let us abolish the government crop loans.

Food subsidies are a means of protecting the consumer against the high prices which would otherwise be necessitated by the crop prices written into the law by Congress. The farmer gets as much money under this system as he would get without the subsidies, but the consumer does not have to pay so much. In this sense the food subsidy is a subsidy to the consumer. We have thought the system advisable because it enables more people to be adequately fed, and because it prevents as much pressure for wage increases and a consequent inflationary spiral as would otherwise be caused. But farmers should not forget that the reason for the subsidy to consumers is at bottom the governmental floor under farm prices. I am sure that the farmers would not want to abolish subsidies for others without abolishing the special favors which government has extended to them.

Farmers in past years have been used to thinking of themselves as a specially needy group, requiring help as others in the population do not. This is no longer true. Income parity for farmers was reached, on the average, in the years 1935-1939. Income parity was defined in the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 as "that per-capita net income of individuals on farms from farming operations that bears to the per-capita income of individuals not on farms the same relation as prevailed during the period from August, 1909, to July, 1914." Bear in mind that during the base period the farmers were better off than ever before. Notice that this definition applies to *net income* of farmers after all expenses are paid, and to income only from *farming operations*. Notice that the non-farm individuals with whose income the farmers' income is compared include all wage-earners and business men.

During the present war the farmers have soared far above income parity, so defined. Joseph S. Davis, Director of the Food Research Institute of Stanford University, is authority for the statement: "Per person on farms, the 1943 net income from agriculture received by persons on farms is estimated nearly three times what it averaged in 1935-39, when, I repeat, income parity as officially defined was reached." Mr. Davis goes on to say, "If banks, railways, public utilities, industrial corporations or organized labor were to claim that such treatment of them was just and desirable, farmers would howl to high heaven in protest."

I am willing, as I say, to withdraw my support of food subsidies if farmers will advocate stopping governmental intervention in behalf of agriculture, right across the board. In view of the present war demands and food shortages, farmers would no doubt do very nicely under this arrangement. But I cannot close without issuing one frank warning. Such a policy would certainly stimulate inflation, and inflation has always been followed by deflation. The war will not last forever. If the farmers decide to rely entirely on the "free market" now when prices are high, I am sure that

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the people who have to pay the high food prices will think it fair for farmers to dispense with government help after the war when prices may be low. They will not again sanction a policy of farm adjustment which the farmers will not allow to work both ways. These are some of the things most of your journals and your leaders are not telling you. They deserve serious and concentrated thought around our firesides on this winter night, when we all have time to think.

Russia's Western Claims

ALL SORTS OF SUBTLE and indirect political meanings have been read into the rebuke administered to Wendell Willkie last week by Pravda. It has been called an effort to cripple Willkie's political chances by stripping him of liberal support. It has also been called an effort to aid him with American conservatives by ridding him of the suspicion of pro-Soviet views. Some have said that the Russians wanted to help F.D.R., and others that this was in form a rebuke to Willkie, but in reality a warning to the Roosevelt administration that the Russians will not tolerate interference on boundary matters.

But all these comments are strained. Here, as elsewhere, the simplest and most direct explanation is the clearest. The Russians had no desire to play internal American politics. Nor were they talking indirectly to F.D.R., with whom Stalin has had a chance to speak directly at Teheran. They were talking to Anglo-American and world opinion, and they were calling the question of the Polish and Baltic boundaries a specifically Russian one, with which non-Russian opinion—however liberal—had no concern. Willkie's New York Times article offered a convenient and dramatic opportunity to say this. The Russians have always been all-outers, and the tradition of Marxian polemics has trained them to be even more drastic in rejecting those who—like Mr. Willkie—go half way to meet them than those who are out-and-out opponents. The heavy-handedness which characterized the comment of David Zaslavsky, Pravda's political commentator, has been true of most Russian utterances where Anglo-American opinion is concerned.

More important, however, than the question whether the Russians are diplomatic enough in their language, is the question of how valid is their stand on the matter of the Polish boundaries. And here they have good ground for their position. It is true that the section of eastern Poland that is in dispute was occupied by the Russians simultaneously with Hitler's invasion of Poland. But it is also true that it had earlier been part of tsarist Russia, and had been taken by the Poles during the Russian time of troubles in 1921; that most of the peasants inhabiting it are Russian and Ukrainian rather than Polish; and that the Russians may well feel that the Polish ruling class, having refused to take part in any collective-security moves before the war, had gambled with this territory on the calculation of Russia's weakness, and had lost the gamble. It would indeed, from the Russian standpoint, be an irony to invoke the ideals of collective security now to restore territory to a governing group whose whole course has been as reckless and irresponsible as that of the Poles.

But these are considerations of history and politics in the past. Far more cogent are those taken from the present and future. The Russians have borne the brunt of the war against Hitler and are almost alone responsible for the doom of his fortunes today. The Americans and the British are not in a very good tactical position to argue with them about territory that is so close to their interests and to which they have such good historical claims. There is now good reason to believe that the Russians will participate with us in the building of a broad structure of international security. But a necessary condition to such action on their part is that they should not themselves have the feeling of insecurity. They will not feel assured so long as any neighboring country can become the fulcrum for the sort of anti-Russian coalitions which have constituted Russia's great fear during the past quarter-century. And the nature of the present Polish Government-in-Exile is so deeply reactionary, its recent instructions to the Polish underground have been so equivocal, that one can scarcely blame the Russians for insisting that there can be no boundary discussions with the present Polish government.

The Russian-Czech Pact has pointed the way toward regional peace and security in Eastern Europe. The same logic will have to apply to Poland. With that as a basis, the Russians should lose much of their sense of fear, and should be able to approach the larger questions of world settlement in the spirit of Moscow and Teheran.

THE NEW REPUBLIC
A Journal of Opinion

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F. D. R. in '44

ONE OF THE WONDERS OF THE AGE, to me, is how President Roosevelt manages to maintain his serene good nature in the face of the barrage of criticism to which he is subjected. If it ever knocks him off balance, he usually manages to recover himself so quickly that no one would know it. The newspapermen, who see him almost every day, are pretty good judges of character; rarely are they able to report that he has lost his temper, as he seemed to do a few weeks ago in regard to Drew Pearson.

The reactionaries in America of course continue to condemn the President out of hand, making all sorts of wild charges against him, some of which are mutually incompatible. They say, for instance, that he has a cold and calculated strategy of leading the country into socialism. They also say that he is an opportunist who just blunders along from day to day confronting problems only as they arise, and trying unsuccessfully to solve each of them in turn. Many of the liberals today are charging him with having abandoned his own cause, of progressivism, at least for the duration. On both sides of the fence occasional voices are raised arguing that the President plotted years ago to drag this country into war, while others, equally vehement, attack him for criminal negligence in failing to prepare America rapidly enough in the face of the obvious growing peril from the Axis countries.

A few months ago he was accused of being insufficiently sympathetic toward Soviet Russia, so that he did not send her war materials in adequate amounts. Today, on the contrary, it is said (without any evidence) that at Teheran he and Mr. Churchill plotted with Premier Stalin to carve up Europe and sizable portions of the Near and Middle East, to the huge aggrandizement of the USSR. Capitalists here at home feel he is far too friendly to labor, while many labor unions indict him for having failed to protect their interests adequately during the wartime inflation. Some of his congressional opponents charge him with trying to dictate to Congress what laws shall be passed, or with seeking to by-pass the national legislature and write not only domestic legislation but international treaties, by means of executive action. Others on the contrary complain of his failure to "give a lead," as the British say, to Congress and observe that in his punctilious efforts to keep hands off, he rarely even calls together congressional leaders to talk to them about problems which require remedial legislation.

Criticisms are often heard that the President is not a good administrator, that he cannot bear to fire anyone, that he cannot delegate real authority, that he makes contradictory promises to various people, that he does not back up his subordinates, and so on. As for the enemy countries, of course, they attack Mr. Roosevelt twenty times a day, from every quarter of the compass, and with every contemptible false charge that mendacity and viciousness can collaborate to produce. It is lucky that the President is a healthy extrovert. Anybody given to Hamlet-like midnight peering into his own mirror would long ago have curled up and died.

It is obvious that some of these charges eat each other up. You cannot be simultaneously a long-range schemer and a blunderer, a militarist and a pacifist, pro and anti-Russia, pro and anti-labor. Human nature being what it is, nearly everyone enjoys throwing rocks at the mighty, and Mr. Roosevelt, through the accident of his office, is certainly one of the three or four most powerful individuals on earth. It should be equally obvious that some of the criticism of his personal character has elements of truth in it. Like every other individual, he is a compound of good and bad characteristics, and his friends should no more pretend he is perfect than his enemies should insist that the portrait is all black. Specifically, it is certainly true that he hates to fire anyone, that he sometimes gives the same job to several people and lets them fight it out, that he is reluctant to delegate authority. This last charge might also be described in another way: that it is hard for him to find enough men of the right caliber for some of the jobs in the American government.

Yet is it not surprising, in view of the President's supposed weaknesses of character, that America has done as well as it has under his tutelage? From a profoundly pacifist nation as recently as 1940, we have become, at the beginning of 1944, nearly if not quite the strongest military power on earth, with a vast and efficient army and navy, with factories pouring out war materials at a rate never before equaled on this planet. In about three years under Roosevelt we have completely outdistanced ten years of Germany under Hitler.

The President may not know how to manage things, yet with his guidance this country has gone from a national income of about $40,000,000,000 to one approaching $160,000,000,000. He may be a bad executive, yet since he has been in office we have achieved more in the way of important social legislation than in the combined terms of the four Presidents who preceded him. America today may not be utopia, but at least it isn't purgatory, and it wasn't so far from that condition when he first took office. On the face of the record, perhaps we could do with a few more blunderers like Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

The critics have said severely that this global war is not a war for democracy but one for the maintenance of the status quo; that we appear unable, in North Africa and Italy for instance, to tell the difference be-

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tween fascists and anti-fascists, or at least to express a firm preference for the latter; that as to Europe we don't seem clear whether we want strong, independent nations after the war or weak, subservient ones which we can manage easily. I have been one of the critics to participate in making these charges, and I do not withdraw any of them. It is permitted to ask, however, just how much any one man, such as the President of the United States, can be held responsible for the general attitude of a group of nations comprising among them about three-quarters of the human race. If, for instance, you were the President and you found that the British Prime Minister, while a man of extraordinary courage and charm, was also a stubborn Tory on India or even on turning Hong Kong over to the Chinese, what would you do? Would you stop the war and let Hitler win, because you did not see eye to eye with your British confrere? Or would you choose what seemed to be the lesser evil, not only as to these matters but as to Russia's claim to the Baltic states, France's claim to her old empire, the Netherlands' demand that they keep the East Indies? There is at the very least a nice question of moral responsibilities involved here. Those who have damned the President because he has failed to make a series of elevated speeches turning the war into a moral crusade, may be overlooking a reluctance on his part to make promises to the American people that he might not be able to fulfill.

This of course does not mean that I feel the President's whole record is on the right side of the ledger. He must have the ultimate responsibility for the many bad policies of the State Department, of which the failure to support Republican Spain is one of the worst. (Such support could have postponed, perhaps even averted, this war.) I regret that he continues to play with the Northern Democratic machines, like that of Mayor Hague in Jersey City. I assume, however, that he has felt he must do this in order to stay in office, and that it was better to tolerate these disreputable machines than to hand the country over to the Republicans—especially since the aforesaid machines would not be reformed in the slightest degree because of a national Republican administration, any more than they were between 1920 and 1932. There are, in short, many things about the President that I don't care for; but people who are more than six years old, politically, will weigh all factors and not just a few. Thus any possible presidential candidate must be examined, not in a vacuum or compared to some hypothetical standard of perfection, but in terms of his possible opponents. Looking at Mr. Roosevelt thus, what do we find?

Everyone knows that the ranks of the Democratic Party contain no alternative to Mr. Roosevelt who has the slightest chance of winning the election. A heavy count against the President is that he has failed to develop a possible successor to himself within the Democratic Party. If he should decide to run for a fourth term and should be elected, one of his important jobs will certainly be to bring out such a successor—since his fourth would assuredly be his last term in office. As far as 1944 is concerned, however, it is Mr. Roosevelt or a Republican; and the question immediately follows: What Republican? It is always conceivable that some dark horse may suddenly appear and run away with the nomination; conceivable, but not at all probable. Actually, there are only five Republicans who at the present time are being seriously considered: Willkie, Dewey, Bricker, Stassen and General MacArthur.

Of these, General MacArthur is almost entirely an unknown quantity. Nobody is sure whether he has any executive ability; a general always gives an impression of great competence, but very few Americans have even seen this one in action. His views on practically all subjects, domestic and foreign, are a closed book. His candidacy is put forward exclusively by Roosevelt-haters who hope to capitalize on wartime emotion and sweep into the White House a man who might possibly make a success there but is just as likely—perhaps even more likely—to make an outstanding failure.

As for Mr. Bricker, surely no American progressive would have any reason to vote for a man who seems to be chiefly a repetition of the W. G. Harding pattern.

Mr. Stassen is in many ways an attractive figure. His views on foreign questions are thoroughly liberal, and in the domestic field he is certainly not a brassbound Tory. However, he is very young and inexperienced to lead America, and to help lead the world, in a time of profound crisis. We should be taking a long chance; it would be about like asking for a volunteer from the audience to come up and play a violin concerto with the Philharmonic Orchestra because Jascha Heifitz had failed to show up.

Mr. Dewey is an astute young politician, who made a good record in New York City as a gang-buster and has occupied the gubernatorial chair in Albany for a year without making many bad mistakes. So far as can be judged, however, he is without strong convictions on any question of public policy, domestic or international. He could thus readily become the tool of powerful and unscrupulous men whose ambitions lie counter to the public interest. His one pronouncement in the field of general policy has been to come out in favor of an alliance with Great Britain, exactly at the moment when the Gallup Poll had discovered such an alliance is favored by a majority of the American people. As everybody knows, to advocate an Anglo-American alliance is now a favorite device of the isolationists. Mr. Dewey's record is clouded, moreover, by the fact that he has made a solemn public declaration that he will stay in office as Governor for the next three years.

We come next to Mr. Willkie, who has obviously grown a great deal since 1940, and is in many ways a thoroughly attractive figure. His attitude on foreign affairs is, on the whole, one that almost any progres-

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sive should endorse. In domestic matters singularly little is known of his views, in spite of his having been a candidate in 1940, beyond the fact that he has a fine record in support of civil liberties. In my judgment he would make a better President than any other man who has been mentioned for the Republican nomination.

Yet Mr. Willkie is also, to a surprising degree, an unknown quantity. Nobody knows how he would succeed in the very important presidential jobs of hiring and firing. His past experience has been as a lawyer and as a public-utility front man, where these organizational details did not arise or were unimportant. Nobody knows how he would conduct the business of day-to-day negotiation with foreign countries. Nobody knows whether he sees deeply enough or has enough courage not to permit the business men, under the guise of "free enterprise," to run the country into another shattering depression as they did in 1929. To a serious extent, Mr. Willkie in the White House would be the prisoner of a Republican Party which at present seems to be dominated by its worst elements.

It is of course unwise to center too much attention on the presidency at the expense of Congress. What we see in Washington at this moment should be enough to convince us that Congress is a very important part of the government. I judge that the new political-action committee of the CIO will put much of its attention and energy into electing progressives to Congress. It hardly needs to be said that independent liberals should follow this example. Progressivism is far more important than the party label; a Republican who supports the New Deal is better than a Democrat who doesn't.

Coming back to Mr. Roosevelt, it is obvious that nobody knows whether he would run again; I doubt whether he himself has made up his mind. I am well aware of the reasons, historical and otherwise, against a fourth term, although it might be recalled that George Washington served as Commander-in-Chief for twenty-two years, before and during his presidency of the Republic. I know that barnacles grow on every ship and that, other things being equal, the ship should be beached from time to time for a major overhaul.

But in this case, things are not equal. We are engaged in a war for the survival of our democratic system, a war in which most of the hard fighting still lies ahead of us. In spite of everything that is wrong with Western democracy, no one can question the fact that it is infinitely better than the sort of wholehearted fascism which we should get if the Axis were to win. Moreover, this war which began as a struggle for the status quo, and (at least in the eyes of Mr. Churchill) has not changed its character, is in fact becoming a worldwide fight for true democracy. This phase of the struggle will be far more apparent while the peace is being made than it is during the fight itself. To be sure, enormous difficulties lie ahead. Conservatives all over the world will attempt to avoid any rectification of our economic system, the abolition of special privilege, freedom for colonial peoples, racial equality at home.

To lead America and to help lead the world in such a struggle, Mr. Roosevelt seems to me at this moment the best man available. His faults of character are at least matched by the known faults of his rivals and may be greatly overbalanced by demerits of theirs, or of their party, which would not become evident until it was too late. More than any other American who could possibly become President, he seems to me to be in tune with the fundamental currents that are sweeping through the world. I have disagreed, and now disagree, with him on various matters, including the question whether domestic reform has to be laid aside during the war. Nevertheless, the combination of President Roosevelt and the Democratic Party, faults and all, seems to me to hold more promise for the welfare of the people of the United States than the combination of Candidate X and the Republican Party. If the election were tomorrow, and he were a candidate, I should cast my ballot for F.D.R. BRUCE BLIVEN

Solitude

Lovely to my spirit is the moving
Onyx color of the lonely hall
Where the loudness of the world is all transmuted
Coming slowly over the wall,

Where the disconsolate young man is hidden
Behind the window-curtains and the stone,
Secure on his own side, and cultivating
The fortitude of those who live alone.

The blossom of time bends over, lets fall its petals,
And, at their own convenience born, the hours
Disintegrate in yellow dust of flowers,

And I, in this place of self-perception, find
More sweetness than in giving any kiss,
And heart's-ease, maybe, that eternal is.

Time's Progress

And what will they look like by tomorrow morning,
Today's delightful things, the air adorning?
Whose victory, hand in hand with ruin, goes
Down the long road to rubble, with the rose.

And all those forms in which all beauties dwell
Foreshortened and foreshadowing, foretell
To our glass dream that keeps them for our sight
The ultimate nothing of their lovely light.

We shall be very sad, to watch the dust
Of what we used to dream ahead to, falling,
Blending the almost-present with the past,

And we shall seek, in a frozen world, a mirror,
Fixed among flowers, reflecting and recalling
And keeping our favorite images forever.

JUAN RODOLFO WILCOCK

Translated by Rolfe Humphries

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Science in Wartime[1]

IN WARTIME the nation demands power, ever more and ever faster. In modern war knowledge is power, and science is the great reservoir of organized knowledge. The creative aspect of science—research—is our only source of more knowledge and more power. Hence the nation depends on science to create new weapons and resources, to surprise the enemy, to provide the incalculable. Science must be completely mobilized.

Such is the dictum of common sense, the intent of government and the unanimous desire of men of science. Two years of war have accomplished the mobilization of American science, and the results are impressive. But in this success, science has lost its purity, if not its virtue. The ancient ideals have been suspended: the single-hearted devotion to truth, the service to humanity, the ignorance of national boundaries. "Pure science," like the masterpieces of art, has been locked underground for the duration.

This decline of research in pure science has had few immediate, noticeable effects. But its effects always lie in the future and there will undoubtedly be a period after the war when applied science will itself go into a decline for lack of nourishment in new principles and facts. The utilization of new discoveries is usually delayed from five to ten years. Thus the interval of idleness will be felt only in the years following 1945. It may then be serious for a decade. The wartime gap will be prolonged by the conversion of many able men to industrial research and perhaps, more insidiously, by the grip on the universities of the habit of organized research for specific objectives. Really free and pure research is likely to await the rise of a whole new generation of independent, imaginative thinkers who can be inspired once more by the vista of unconquered nature. Meanwhile research has been so well integrated with social needs that the organized attack on postwar non-military social problems has the promise of much more effective aid from science than such problems have ever had in the past. Today scientists are—at last and for the moment—consciously the servants of society.

The organization of science for war has four major divisions. The first and most successful is direct service to the armed forces through the Office of Scientific Research and Development. The second is industrial research sponsored by the War Production Board. Less recognized but almost as important, is the frantic scramble of thousands of corporations to maintain their own production under ever changing restrictions in raw materials, manpower and distribution. Finally, and quite separate, there is a large program of technical education for the military personnel, for industrial employees and for the oncoming generation. Together they form a world of science such as has never before existed.

The background of organization for service to the armed forces was ready, for American scientists are the best organized in the world. The National Academy of Sciences was created during the Civil War. The National Research Council was organized during the First World War by the Academy to concentrate its war activities and to offer them to President Wilson. Later a presidential order established the Council permanently. It is housed in a $5,000,000 Carnegie-built palace in Washington and is a direct channel to more than fifty scientific and engineering societies. From it have sprung the plans, direction and personnel of the present war organization of science.

The Office of Scientific Research and Development was established in 1941 with Dr. Vannevar Bush, president of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, at its head, and reports direct to the President. It has two divisions, the National Defense Research Committee, under President James B. Conant of Harvard, dealing with the physical sciences, and the Committee on Medical Research, under Professor A. N. Richards of the University of Pennsylvania Medical School, dealing with biological and medical science. Its activities have been prodigious. By the end of 1942 the OSRD had more than 2,000 contracts in operation at 280 research institutions and universities, and had in its employ nearly 7,000 scientists. Its expenditures for research are close to $100,000,000 a year. If it has built any laboratories, they are secret. Normally, the researches are conducted in established institutions by men who are already expert in the specific field of their problem. But countless shifts have been made so that research in electronics, for instance, has gathered together at a single university nearly all the nation's able and available research specialists in that subject. With complete coöperation of the scientific men, with ample funds and, above all, with full power of initiative, this organization has made a conspicuous success.

Secrecy has been so strict that it is impossible now even to report minor achievements, to say nothing of evaluating the results. All men are sworn to silence, the executives are unapproachable to newspapermen, and the Office of Censorship, naturally incompetent to pass judgment in scientific matters, has agreed to the silence. Even the concept of "retroactive secrecy" has

[1] This is the fourth of a series of articles on American civilization in wartime. The fifth will be "Music in Wartime," by Arthur Berger. — THE EDITORS

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been accepted, in that widely published, prewar researches on what is now called radar cannot now be quoted. Nevertheless, it is obvious that the OSRD has to its credit magnificent new weapons, such as radar, submarine detectors, rocket projectiles and explosives. Any one of these, or of others that are still more secret, may well play, or perhaps already has played, a decisive role in the war.

The OSRD limits itself strictly to the service of the armed forces. It cannot serve the war industries nor can it accept suggestions from the non-military public —not even from qualified experts. This made it necessary in 1942 for the War Production Board to organize a separate research agency to serve the proliferous war industries. This Office of Production Research and Development was placed under the direction of Dr. Harvey N. Davis, president of the Stevens Institute of Technology. With a minimum budget, with no laboratory of its own, the OPRD late in 1943 had 122 research projects under way and 102 others under consideration. A large fraction of these are carried on by industry, at government request and under OPRD supervision but with no cost to the government. The largest budget request made by the OPRD was for $11,000,000, for the current year—in contrast with the $100,000,000 available to the OSRD.

The OPRD projects are, of course, industrial. Only a few can be mentioned. The Metallurgy Committee, under Dr. C. K. Leith, head of the Department of Geology at the University of Wisconsin, has introduced a new process for producing metallic magnesium, has evaluated many proposed processes for producing aluminum from domestic ores, and has improved the production and technology of alloy steels, of quartz and mica for radio equipment. The Chemical Industries Branch, under Dr. Donald D. Keyes, head of the Department of Chemical Engineering at the University of Illinois, has done outstanding work on the use of wheat for the production of alcohol for the rubber program, on the salvaging of glycerin from domestic fats, on new sources of chemicals for the manufacture of plastics and on chemical products from coal and from petroleum. The ramifications of detail in the substitution of plentiful materials for critical ones are almost endless and are ever changing. Most of the work of the OPRD is also hidden in secrecy and nearly all of it is handicapped by dependence on volunteers.

The growth of the OSRD and of the OPRD has necessarily reduced the normal industrial research of American corporations. The conversion from civilian to war production has required large numbers of industrial-research executives to assume responsibility for day-to-day production. In addition, the draft has seldom exempted chemists and engineers unless they are engaged directly in war work. Thus the development of new products and processes in ordinary industry has followed the pure research of the universities into relative decline. Yet many a youngster, and oldster too, unaccustomed to research responsibilities, has saved his company by bright new ideas that happened to work.

Many such amateurs have, in fact, been inspired by the needs of war to propose their own inventions for the use of the nation. The National Inventors' Council was set up under the chairmanship of Dr. Charles F. Kettering, vice-president of General Motors, as a clearing house for such amateur ideas. Before Pearl Harbor they poured in at the rate of 2,300 a month; after Pearl Harbor the rate rose to 10,000. Of these a mere 50 or 60 have proved useful. The enormous number of rejections has created a good deal of rancor among those thousands of inventors who have little chance to explain or argue. There is not time to educate them either in the actual needs of warfare or in the fundamental principles of science and technology, but they will carry over into the peace as a valuable resource of amateur scientific enthusiasm.

To educators the most striking phase of wartime science is the instruction of hundreds of thousands of college-age youth in the technical subjects whose mastery is so important in mechanical warfare. Many a college has been kept in operation by government appropriations for such training, especially in the aviation subjects. Many a professor of languages has brushed up his mathematics or his physics to serve in this program. And many a college president is worried about the influence of this pervasive technology on the future of liberal education. The value of the graceful arts will have to be—and will be—proved once more to a utilitarian nation when the emergency is over.

Yet the survival of a respectable residue of training in precise thinking may be expected and will be a permanent benefit to education from the war. Never again, one hopes, will the 1941 experience of the navy, in examining 2,400 freshmen in 27 colleges for admission to reserve officer training, be repeated. Then 68 percent of the candidates failed to pass an entrance test in arithmetical reasoning. Only 23 percent of them had studied more than a year and a half of any mathematics in high school. Never again, one hopes, will 3,000 out of 8,000 college graduates, considered for commissioning as ensigns, be rejected for deficiency in mathematics. Some modicum of technical realism will no doubt remain to improve American education.

Aside from the winning of the war the most far-reaching consequence of wartime science is probably the deep, popular conviction that in scientific research society does have a vast resource at its command. This conviction has been a part of German culture for a generation. The present evil upsurge of German power was based on (though not caused by) that resource. Even today the one great hope of Germany is apparently the secret weapons—be they rocket bombs and gliders or the release of incredible power from within

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the atom. And our own confidence in the face of these threats is confidence in our own technical brains.

Even more striking is the universal optimism that our postwar world will somehow be prosperous and fantastically interesting through the conversion of military developments into new peacetime products. Certainly aviation will provide flocks of private aircraft, radar will become television, wartime motor fuels will permit far better postwar automobiles. Up to now this concern with the postwar products of science has been limited to a desire for the new and to some worry about the adjustment of social institutions to the new machines and products. But most of the thinking thus far has been done by advertising agents who have time to dream because they now have nothing to sell. By featuring the bubble-car and the pet helicopter instead of the monotonously pretty girl, they have promoted interest in science more than all the news columns and books have done. In full-page and in full-color, they have issued strident challenges to social thought.

When social planning becomes aware that physics, engineering and salable gadgets are not all of science and that less photogenic sciences have also made great advances, we may have constructive thought on the future of many of our institutions. The perfection of the sulfa drugs and of penicillin, for instance, and the superb life-saving technique in the use of blood plasma, are indications that peaceful lives will be extended also, and that many more people will live to a riper age. For another example, the tremendous development of the dehydrated-food industries and the probable expansion of synthetic vitamins, or even of yeast as a protein food, can make great changes in dietary habits, in the food industries, and perhaps in the servant problem. A third example is the perfection of the electric eye as an instrument of supervision, inspection and automatic operation in many a factory. This can only result in the further reduction of the need for human labor, and hence in the greatest of postwar problems, the threat of unemployment. Because the war has postponed the impact of such new developments of science on civilian life, there is still an interval in which provision can be made for their inevitable consequences.

Indeed, there is some hope that the methods of research and the resources of science may themselves be employed in managing these consequences. Social thinkers and welfare agencies have so long been attending the misfits of modern society and mopping up the wreckage of social change that they have seldom traced the change to its source. It is strangely difficult for those who deal with people to learn that the birthplace of the future is in the laboratory. Few realize the tempo of modern research, with some 70,000 men engaged in 2,400 laboratories and spending more than $300,000,000 a year, even in peacetime. No one need be surprised when the tempo of social change also increases. It is possible that we shall have more changes during the first ten years after the war than we have had in the past fifty years. That science thus creates social problems without help to solve them, follows merely from the fact that until the war, science served primarily the producers and not the consumers. When the consumers of new products and new forces, and therefore of new industries, new habits and new institutions, make as good use of the methods of research as do the producers, then social changes can not only be foreseen, but can be guided, softened and improved by effective research. Social answers to the challenge of science can be invented too. In that case, research should be called upon soon, and by the people as a whole, for solving such problems as unemployment, the economy of abundance, a life expectancy of 75 to 80 years and the general need for medical service.

Only one important move in this direction has been made: the Kilgore bill, introduced into Congress to establish an Office of Scientific and Technical Mobilization which will last beyond the war. It draws together, under a $200,000,000 annual budget, all the scientific and technical facilities and personnel of the government "to protect their application in the national welfare," to undertake researches and acquire patents for peacetime national development, with far broader powers than any research agency of the government now has. The bill has been violently opposed as "regimentation," chiefly by such organizations as already have a very large interest in research and patents and are already established on their own regimental basis.

The bill probably has little chance of passage. Yet the debate will continue as long as science is supposed to exist for its own sake, while it is avidly used by producers, ignored by consumers. But the very existence of the bill shows that the significance and success of science in serving the nation as a whole under a compact government control have not been lost. Unquestionably, somehow science will yet become the servant of social change, instead of its irresponsible master.

That scientific research is partisan in war, belying its humane and international essence, is of course temporary. When this human enemy is defeated, the national bonds will drop away and all men will again have access to all knowledge. Instantly research will return to its inherent enemy—Nature. That ancient enemy of mankind still hampers us with poverty, famine, disease and too few brief years on this beautiful planet. They can all be ended by conquering ignorance, by wresting from Nature her hoarded wisdom. We have but scratched the surface of her hidden resources. Once we learn that Nature is the enemy—not men—we can create wealth aplenty for all mankind. The savage ethics of profiting by our brothers' loss can end. That remote goal for science is emerging too.

GERALD WENDT

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How to End War Contracts

DON'T BELIEVE all that you read about a new year overflowing with bobbie pins and girdles, trousers with cuffs, electric irons and coat hangers. The "reconversion" to civilian-goods production which will bring these things is having a bull market. You will hear a great deal about reconversion in 1944, but chances are that you will not feel it until several months after the war in Europe is finished.

The stories about coming civilian plenty are due principally to confusion about the 1944 war-production program, which is more complicated than 1943's. This year's over-all war production, WPB vice-chairman Charles Wilson recently explained, "consists of a number of distinct programs, some of which will continue to rise while others are reduced.... In modern warfare, with constant changes in battle requirements, production must always be kept flexible, and must follow the trends of military action." Some sections of management and labor have not understood the new "flexible" program and, observing what seemed to be growing surpluses of certain raw materials and growing unemployment in certain industries, have begun to press war-production officials for authority to resume production of civilian goods now. The facts of our present situation do not warrant such demands.

The production experts are agreed that large-scale resumption of civilian-goods production will not be possible until the close of the European war. Until that time manpower will continue to be tight. The steel supply will continue short. Some plant facilities will fall idle as supply needs shift. Surpluses will appear in aluminum, magnesium, copper and other materials. A few percent more civilian goods will be available.

The volume of civilian supply will depend on the military-supply program. The dollar volume of deliveries next year is expected to be even greater than for 1943, but since the government is no longer calling for increased output from almost every industry, but is instead asking aircraft and shipbuilding to "keep the pressure on" and at the same time telling producers of ground army equipment to cut down production, there will be some surplus raw materials available. As a result, some limitation orders on civilian production can be lifted, provided that other limiting factors can be kept in balance. Manpower and productive capacity will be the new headaches for civilian producers.

Donald Nelson has indicated that he does not intend to be panicked into taking the lid off civilian production merely because there are the aluminum and copper and perhaps even steel for it. The War Production Board is studying all its limitation and restriction orders for the purpose of lifting curbs on civilian production "as quickly as it is found feasible to do so," Nelson says.

More consumer goods will be produced next year, but it will be a trickle rather than a stream. That trickle is considered very important, however, by those who want to see to it that the big reconversion and demobilization programs yet to come move in the direction of full employment, for they believe that this trickle may determine the course of the big stream. They are convinced that it will take more than good intentions from Donald Nelson and reports from Senator George's Postwar Planning Committee or suggestions from Bernard Baruch to direct the 1944 civilian supply program so as to protect war output and create jobs for the future.

Many organized groups have now gone on record in favor of the immediate establishment of an over-all agency, with a representative policy-making board, to administer every phase of demobilization, from contract termination, disposal of government-owned plants and equipment, to the conversion of war plants to peacetime production. The AFL, the CIO, the Murray and Truman Committees of the Senate, the National Planning Association, and other private groups, are agreed on the general outlines of the central agency or committee that is needed to determine basic policies.

Needless to say, recommendations from business groups, the United States Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers and the Committee for Economic Development disagree about the necessity for over-all government direction of the demobilization process. "Hands Off, Government!" is still apparently the battle cry. But on the general outlines of the reconversion problem, research reports from business generally agree with reports from labor.

Here are some of the immediate problems which demand fundamental decisions on policy.

The way things stand now, when shifts in our military plans call for shifts in war orders, the procurement agency which originally contracted for the supplies proceeds to cut back or terminate the contract. Since coördinated purchasing and real scheduling of requirements (so long demanded by the Tolan Committee and other congressional committees, trade unions and publications, including The New Republic) were never achieved, cutbacks now are being made in the same independent, unorganized fashion. Sometimes the army, the navy, the RFC or whatever procurement officer is involved, consults the War Manpower Commission and other interested agencies before making a cutback; sometimes they don't. More often than not, the local manpower official in the field reads in the

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newspaper about a layoff at a local war plant. Then it is up to him to extemporize a solution.

Plants that have lost war orders are now clamoring for authority to get back into civilian production. This demand raises such major questions as: Should manufacturers in labor shortage areas be permitted to resume production of civilian items? Should they be allowed to compete with war plants for manpower if they have the facilities? Should materials be made available to all or should only those in business when production was suspended be allowed materials for resuming civilian production? Should the government undertake to protect the competitive position of the efficient producer who is kept on war work while his less efficient competitor returns to civilian production with a head start? If so, how?

Supposedly, these and many other questions have been answered by War Mobilization Director James Byrnes and the director of his Reconversion Unit, Bernard Baruch. Since his appointment to that position last October 15, Mr. Baruch has been busily collecting information and ideas. Half the "thinkers" in Washington have submitted memos to Baruch or Byrnes on how to demobilize our war economy. Donald Nelson is also collecting ideas and drawing blueprints of his own on how to do the job. Baruch and Byrnes have recently talked their ideas over with Senator George's Postwar Planning Committee and (privately) Senator Murray's Subcommittee on Small Business.

Most of the Senators came out of that private session convinced that reconversion should be entrusted to the Byrnes-Baruch Office rather than to Nelson and the WPB or to a new agency. Evidently a good part of the meeting was devoted to contract termination, for the most frequent quote from the off-the-record conference was a statement by Baruch to the effect that if he were a war contractor, he would say, "Show me how I can get my money and most of the other problems will solve themselves." Furthermore, the committee, which had been considering what most experts had thought to be a very adequate 75-percent basis of immediate government settlement with war contractors upon cancellation, swung over to a 90 to 95-percent settlement after listening to Baruch and Byrnes.

On January 8, Mr. Baruch made public his plan for the termination of war contracts. Essentially, his plan provides that the government and the contractor try to come to an agreement. If they can't, the contractor is to get full price on finished goods, six-percent profit or less on goods in work and two-percent profit or less on materials in hand not yet processed. The CIO, incidentally, criticizes Mr. Baruch on the ground that he did not consult labor in drawing up his plan, nor is labor to participate in carrying it out.

As of now, the Office of Civilian Requirements of the WPB is busy drawing up a program for consumer-goods production without benefit of basic direction from the top. Without policy instructions to the contrary, procurement officers, thinking of the questions Congress may ask some day, are doing the expected and making the price factor paramount, terminating the high-cost producers. If the "guinea pig" civilian-production projects are allowed to proceed along present lines, reconversion will get off to a very bad start.

Take the case of the electric flatirons. The WPB Requirements Committee, at the request of the Office of Civilian Requirements, has set aside enough materials to manufacture 2,000,000 electric irons in the coming year. Surveys made by the OCR show electric irons to be high on the list of things people want and can't get. Preliminary plans made by the OCR estimated that only 500 men with a small amount of steel could produce 2,000,000 irons—43 percent of the 1940 production. That seemed all to the good. However, the OCR's formula for distributing the materials turned out to be not so good.

The War Manpower Commission has regular liaison relations with the OCR, and whenever its officials have been consulted on plans for reconversion, they have insisted that the primary rule for resumption of civilian production should be that no materials for consumer goods be allotted to manufacturers doing business in labor-shortage, or Group I, areas. Under the new OCR electric-iron program, all 25 of the companies making electric irons at the time of their discontinuance are invited to apply for an allocation of the materials set aside for that program, regardless of whether they are in Group I or in Group IV (areas of labor plenty).

No proposal for concentration of the new electric-iron production was considered. Each iron manufacturer is to place his own brand name on his product instead of producing the victory models that have removed the competitive feature and guaranteed a quality standard in many war products. This fact makes it almost necessary for all of the 25 companies to apply for quotas in the iron program to protect their brand names for the future market, even though doing so might interfere with the efficiency of their war production. No restriction on the right to apply for the civilian iron-production quotas is made on companies that are far behind on their war orders. One company in New Britain, Connecticut, in the center of the ball-bearing production area, which had just been converted to war work, is among the companies that have already filed applications for materials. If the application is granted, it will upset the present manpower-stabilization program. There are war plants in New Britain now which have had cutbacks in their war orders and may not take other war contracts because of the rule that no additional contracts can be allotted in scarcity areas. If new civilian production is allowed to go outside the rules, all war industry will be demoralized.

A strong central conversion organization, with representation of all groups on the policy committee,

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can cure the administrative headaches. Such a policy committee can watch the executive in charge, but it would still be worth-while to have congressional mandates on as many policy matters as possible. Right now, it would be helpful to have expressions of opinion from Congress as to how it thinks contracts should be terminated and how government-owned plants should be disposed of.

While the Office of War Mobilization considers and studies, and Congress writes incomplete reports, small-fry government officials are being forced to make important decisions relating to reconversion in the course of their day's work. Fast action by the President and Mr. Baruch in getting a central demobilization administration on the job is of the utmost importance.

Washington HELEN FULLER

Alabama, Old and New

IT'S A WAY OF LIFE deep in the bones of the South. It's a different feel, a different smell, a different outlook.

It's a way of talk like feet thrust into old carpet slippers, like rocking back and forth on the porch in the cool of the afternoon.

It's the way folks greet each other, the way they stand and chat. It's the way a Negro girl swings her hips as she moves down the street, a tray of turnip greens on her head. ("Here's yo' nice fresh turnip greens.") It's the way the bus ambles down a shady street and flouts every schedule that was ever made ("You needn't a run lady, I wouldn't a run off and left you"), the way the sky cups over a field of dingy cotton in September, the way greens smell cooking for dinner.

It's the chunk of America south of the Mason-Dixon line viewed with a nostalgic eye by the song-writer, with a realistic one by the politician, and by the sociologist, with a somber one.

It's "The Good Old South," "The Seed Bed of America," "The White Hope of the Future" ("A Wonderful Climate and Low Cost of Labor Invite New Industries"). It's "The Nation's Dirty Back Yard."

It's "Deep South," barbecues and revivals, pot licker and corn licker, poll tax and pellagra.

It's fried chicken and molasses pie and yams, flaming red like the fire under the lid of the cook-stove at noon ("We eat 'em at my house three times a day, hot for dinner, cold for supper, and fried for breakfast").

It's hoe-cake and fat-back, fat-back and hoe-cake.

It's hound dogs and rabbit hunts, hound dogs and possum hunts, blood hounds and man-hunts.

It's "Alabama, Here We Rest," and all the ringing names in the history books, Burnt Corn Creek, Horseshoe Bend and Stone's Ferry. It's the proud-sounding names in the Chamber of Commerce folders, Birmingham, the Magic City; Montgomery, the Cradle of the Confederacy; and "Mobile Under Five Flags." It's Demopolis of the Vine and Olive Colony ("Here followers of Napoleon, exiles from the Court of Versailles and the battlefields of Europe, tilled the fields with delicate fingers"). It's Tuscaloosa, Tallapoosa, Wetumpka and Ohatchie, and the flint arrowheads embedded in their soil. It's Mellow Springs and Turkey Creek and Lower Peach Tree and all the little towns with the humble and singing names and the children trudging long miles over miry roads to little country schools and Fourth of July barbecues with camp stews and oratory, and the smell of chinaberry blossoms in the spring and cottonseed oil in the fall.

It's Equality and Reform, mere pinpoints on the map.

It's fields pink with primroses in the spring and gold with goldenrod in the fall, and sunsets flaming beyond loblolly pines. It's honeysuckle and crepe myrtle like the heart of a ripe watermelon in summer, and hot enough to fry an egg on the pavement in the Square.

It's a land bountiful with good crops, and played-out land, poor and used up like spit-out sugar cane, like a sharecropper's wife, the vital juices drained out of her, sitting with folded hands and empty eyes.

It's clay banks and prairie soil and sticky black gumbo ("My mules bogged up, so I footed it.")

It's the fierce tides of history that have ravaged the land, dividing the land, the rivers of blood that have stained its shores and dyed its skies as men have fought, bled and died for the causes they held most dear. It's the scene of "The Bloody Conflict," the aftermath of "The Lost Cause."

It's the home of "White Supremacy."

It's the unfinished revolution, the unrighted wrong that lies cankering in the vitals of the South, that cries out with many mouths from the depths of the South as old wounds cry out with little mouths when the season changes and the wind shifts in the chimney at night.

It's the men whose names have made the history books, and the men who have made the land. It's the great names carved on marble busts in the museums and the unknown names carved on old head-pieces in weed-grown cemeteries.

It's the echoing footsteps of those who have walked across the land and have left their impress on the land for good or ill, shaping the land: the Indian Tecumseh, he stamped his feet and the earth trembled; the Spanish De Soto; Lafayette ("In this tavern Lafayette once slept"); and Jefferson Davis, the first President of the Confederacy. It's Heflin and the Popish uprising of which he once roared up and down the land ("What

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do a Cathlick look like, Tawm, has he got slant eyes like a Chinee, or do he look like a nigger?"); Bibb Graves and the Big Mules he aimed to hitch up to pull the little man; Dixon and the KKK.

It's "the old South," with its reverence for the past, its deep-rooted prejudices and its dogmatic pride, a South fiercely, militantly sectional ("The South can take care of its own problems . . . We don't want no damyankee sticking his nose in our affairs").

It's the museums with the yellow lace and manuscripts the color of parched magnolia leaves and the silver spoons that were buried when the Yanks went past.

It's the feudal past clinging to the present as tatters of cotton cling to barbed-wire fences when the cotton wagons roll past in the fall.

It's "The Sword of Robert Lee" volleyed and thundered from rostrums of little country schoolhouses deep in the sifting pines.

It's the echo of old cotillions, the smell of pressed rose-petals, the musk of the past—the reverence of the time-hallowed past.

It's the ghost of a lynching bee that haunts the withered oak on the edge of the swamp ("Ev' time my jenny mule goes past that tree, she shies and nigh 'bout goes off the road").

It's the romantic South, and the picture-book, moving-picture houses, stately and white-pillared, set in bowers of jasmine and honeysuckle with the rosewood stairways and the framed coat of arms.

It's the one-room Negro cabin with a tumble-down chimney and an open privy in the yard.

It's a little farmhouse on a chewed-out gully, and a woman in an old overcoat and a man's dented fedora going numb-fingered about her chores.

It's the long shadow of the plantation like the shadow of a dead tree on the horizon struck by the last shaft of sun, lying across the land, darkening the land.

It's the picturesque South. It's the faithful mammies of song and story, the old Negro man with "the slavery-time manners."

It's the Southern bourbon's reply to an unspoken accusation: "Sure, we believe in givin' 'em a fair chance . . . but we know how to keep 'em in their place."

It's the jim-crow school, the jim-crow fountains, the jim-crow section on the bus (". . . the back part, nigger, where you belong!").

It's the South in transition.

It's the feudal past slowly giving way to the imperative present.

It's a lantern-lighted, wire-pieced, ox-drawn cart rumbling down a country road at dusk, and planes zooming overhead.

It's the blackened stumps of pine forests burned over for spring forage and the new growths shouldering upward under the government's reforestation policy.

It's the old Negro who used to tell us Uncle Remus stories and Dr. Carver's laboratory in Tuskegee with the 300 products he extracted from the peanut.

It's the Constitutional Convention, the Black Parliament and the Southern Conference for Human Rights.

It's the old values that have gone into the Old South plus the new values that have gone into the New South.

It's the New Deal, the FSA and the CIO.

It's the TVA and rural electrification and a new kind of planning.

It's the rehabilitation program of the FSA, farm cooperatives and a sturdy independence looking out of the eyes of the farmer where poverty and defeat looked before.

It's the adventure of farm women out of shyness and isolation into collective thinking and pride in community achievement, and the new, useful and beautiful things their hands are fashioning. It's the curb markets in the glory of field and kitchen and orchard, the canned peach halves and snowy layer cakes and jars of golden honey and watermelon-rind preserves and fat hens and white violets.

It's the new voices of progress that are making themselves heard above the old voices of reaction.

It's the new coming together of white and black workers in field and factory.

It's the South since Pearl Harbor.

It's the striking away, by the mailed fist of war, of the shackling past, the winged future glimmering through.

It's the South roused out of its narrow sectionalism and hurled into the arena of world action.

It's the men and women, white and black, from all the big cities with the proud-sounding names that ring in the pages of the history books, and the little towns, mere pinpoints on the map, flying planes and driving trucks and building ships and putting together airplane parts and pounding typewriter keys and living in government dormitories and in old Southern mansions converted into boarding houses and in trailers and rebuilt chicken coops.

It's jeeps and peeps and dun-colored convoys rattling over dirt roads deep-rutted by trucks of cotton and satiny mules.

It's men dying on the battlefields of the world without discrimination as to "race, color or creed."

It's the new challenge of Democracy on the battlefields of the world.

It's the old challenge of Democracy from the city streets, from the street corners of little Southern towns deep in dust and prejudice, from little country courthouses, where she has been crucified, a hundred times and whence, a hundred times, she has risen again.

It's Democracy standing on the doorstep of the South, in her eyes the challenge of the new world, on her lips the unanswered questions of the old.

MARIE PAKE

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Washington Notes

Prospects for the New Session

THE OPENING of a new congressional session, particularly as the curtain-raiser of a presidential election, is always a lively affair. There is the state-of-the-nation presidential message and the budget message, and there are returned congressmen swapping stories about what they think the home folks are thinking. It will take a week or so to see how much Congress has learned by exposure to the voters.

Congress has made a hash of the tax bill and the President may well veto it, particularly if the renegotiation contracts are emasculated, as Senator George wants. It seems likely that George will lose out, and that his leadership will be repudiated as too extreme even for this Congress.

There is evidence that the home folks threw a scare into Congress on the soldier-vote issue, and I would expect the House to rewrite the Senate bill. There is also reason to hope that the consumer pressure to continue subsidies, which was so evident when Congress recessed, will be continued.

Biggest recess development was the furore kicked up by the off-the-record interview attributed to General Marshall over the railway seizure and labor generally. It is a mere factual statement to say that the anti-labor sentiment in this country is now red-hot. Twenty years of labor-baiting by veterans of World War II seem a tragic possibility. With public sentiment what it is, I believe this Congress would pass new anti-labor legislation at the drop of a hat.

Senator George declares that the public's tax limit "has been reached" and that the "bottom of the barrel" is being scraped. What are the real facts? Corporations, farmers and factory labor are all actually making killings out of the war. There is so much inflationary money in the country that it is running out of the cracks. Farmers' net income is the highest in history, $12,800,000,000 for 1943—three times the 1939 figure. Corporations are lapping up more profits, after taxes, than they believed existed. The figure for 1943 may be $8,500,000,000, about twice 1939's. As for factory labor, even when every reasonable qualification is made for higher living costs, overtime and the like, the bald fact is that workers have hit a peak of unparalleled an unimagined prosperity. The two groups that are not getting rich are the white-collar worker and, above all, the $50-a-month GI soldier. He has been given a gun and told to go out and get killed while the rest of us make our "sacrifice" of amassing liberty bonds. His limit hasn't been reached but ours, says Senator George, has.

With the Republicans meeting in Chicago this week the political pot is coming to a boil. Here are reasons why the Republicans are confident: 26 of the 48 Governors are Republican, and they include all the bigger states save Texas; barometer states like Kentucky and New Jersey have just swung to the Republican side; the Democratic majority in the House has been whittled down to one vote, and if the "Solid South" states (which go Democratic anyway) are ignored, the House line-up is 5-to-3 Republican.

As for Republican candidates, the Pravda attack on Willkie hasn't hurt him any; in the long run it may help him if it has any effect on his candidacy at all. But Tom Dewey can still probably have the nomination if he wants it. He will meet fierce Willkie opposition, of course. This was illustrated by the fighting speech of Vermont Governor Wills, Saturday night, asking if the party was going to commit political suicide by letting "discredited reactionaries" put over another "Harding" nomination. This was, definitely, a Willkie-engineered speech. Its primary purpose: to serve notice on other candidates, and Dewey in particular, that Willkie won't give up without a struggle.

Every Republican delegate pledged to Bricker is a potential Taft vote, and I would not be surprised to see the switch made before the convention is over.

I have a note on MacArthur on such good authority that I must put it down. A visitor who has seen the General recently reports that MacArthur complains of the political use being made of his name. He strides about the room, brandishing political news dispatches that relate to him, asking the visitor, with a show of indignation, why they don't let him alone. In fact he does everything except say the word that would take his name out of the fight.

On November 29 I suggested in this column that the insurance lobby might be doing a very stupid thing in trying to rush through a bill exempting fire-insurance companies from the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, just prior to a trial of their case before the Supreme Court. This now appears to be borne out. The lobby, by shock tactics, got the House Judiciary Committee, under Hatton W. Sumners, to approve their impudent bill, but Senator O'Mahoney was able to prevent similar action by the Senate committee, while Rep. Charles M. LaFollette (R) of Indiana held up the measure in the House by a series of speeches characterized by vigor, alertness and painstaking research. Now the case has finally reached the high court, and it is doubtful if Congress will dare to take any further immediate action.

It is widely believed here, and stated by one authority, that the Argentine government played a part in the Bolivian overthrow and that the American government knows it. But more important is the belief that the Ramirez regime is looking over other Latin American administrations to engineer similar coups. In particular, Argentine pressure is believed to be exerted against Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay and Peru. Chile has a good degree of democracy and would fight the pressure; so would Uruguay, but she is particularly exposed by her geographical position. Paraguay and Peru are none too stable.

A good example of the unfairness that can be done by "straight news" reporting appeared in last week's Associated Press story on strikes, where it sensationally reported that "the number of strikes in 1943 was almost double the average for the 15-year period preceding Pearl Harbor." The important thing, of course, in strikes is not their *number*, but the man-days of work lost. The 1943 loss, though bad enough, was well below 1941, the last year before the "no strike" pledge. The increase in time lost was primarily due to four coal strikes called by John L. Lewis.

Washington T. R. R.

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Earth on Heaven

"A GUY NAMED JOE" is a film-malted that is mostly cloying, sometimes quite amusing, and so rich and plentiful in certain Hollywood attitudes that it is also educational. The picture features Spencer Tracy as Joe and Irene Dunne as Derinda Dursin, in a story about a flier who is killed and returns to earth in almost the same state he left it, to help student fliers learn to fly. He can "get through to them" but they can't see or hear him. Hollywood has been fighting a tremendous battle with the problem of death in the war and this is the most elaborate statement of its conclusions on the subject.

Immediately after Joe dies in a bombing dive on a German aircraft-carrier, he is seen, jovial and as good as new, walking and whistling his way across the same expanse of clouds that another transcendental wonder named Joe walked across in "Here Comes Mr. Jordan." He meets an old buddy who was killed in a bombing raid over Brest, and the two of them walk on to God's headquarters. This is an airfield, and God is a World War I ace, or Lionel Barrymore, who has given this type of advice often on earth but never before in heaven. He shows Joe that the freedom he feels when he flies high in the clouds alone as an airman is the same kind of freedom as is being fought for on earth—"the freedom of men to breathe the very air they fly in." He tells him that he will pay his debt to the past by teaching young fliers, and Joe proceeds to pay his debt for the rest of the picture, as a kind of spiritual *alter ego* to a young flier named Pete and his girl, who used to be Joe's girl, Derinda (Derinda is a girl who at various times is called "pretty as a new pair of yellow shoes, pretty as a P-38, pretty as a new propellor, pretty as a dream and the prettiest girl in the world"). The moral to draw from this movie—besides the one that life after death is, if possible, a narrower state than the life before death shown in Hollywood movies—is that death is so like what comes before it that it shouldn't offer any problems to Americans. You may be bored with it if you're not a flier, or even if you are, because it is taken up completely with good works ("there is plenty of work up here," says one contented messenger), but it is not one—the movie insists—that will be a drastic change for you. And so the movies take yet another load off the mind of mankind.

This picture is also an example of the prime attitude of Hollywood toward war films: that they are going to try to keep public morale up first (in the hearty slap-on-the-back way), and second, make movies. "A Guy Named Joe" is literally a handbook of do's and don't's for airmen, and for their relatives when the airmen die, which is given a somewhat more human slant than most handbooks by wisecracking, fantasy, warmth. The essential imperfection of this and other textbook movies is that of forcing the audience to accept more coincidence, unbelievable speech-making and success-story progress than it likes to take in a picture standing for life. But the advice will do you no harm and I am going to give you as much of it as I can remember: don't tighten up at the controls, have hero hunger or lone-wolf it; think for yourself; don't take chances; while you're up in the clouds, feel what it is like to be up there; go out with girls, or at least eat and dance with them; and pay attention to your instincts, sixth-sense—which, I take it, is your spiritual helper, Mr. Tracy, who is, never doubt, always there, trying to get in to you.

This movie is also full of a hero type who is the more average, less eccentric and less popular relation to the tall, shy cowboy-like hero and the shorter, tough men who operate in the underworld. Films like this refer to him warmly as a guy, a lug, or old boy, name him Joe, Pete, Dan or Bill, and put him into less exotic, more pedestrian jobs than the ones that Cooper and Bogart are put into. In this job he progresses, by hard, honest, uncomplaining work, from the lowest rank to the highest, even taking him, as this picture does, to Wing Commander God in heaven. He is not, for a change, anti-talk. His line, like his face, is a good, unvarnished, pliable one, that says for a name like Sanderson "Sanuhson" out of a mouth that is generally used as though full of tobacco juice. He is the movie ideal of the family man, beyond sin, but he is apt to spend the picture, as Gable did in "It Happened One Night," treating and teasing his girl as if she were a dumb little child. His life with his girl is usually, besides a continual stream of banter, cute. This hero's existence is consciously intended to be a more rounded one, and his personality capable of responding with greater elasticity to that existence than were the heroes personified by Cooper or Bogart, but, unlike them, he is usually sugared to death.

There is a speech at the end of "A Guy Named Joe" that is the finest description of this kind of film. Part of it runs, "Everything's going to be prettier, you're not to have any more bad dreams, you're going to have all the things people have, your life is going to be living, laughing, fighting and loving. . . ."

MANNY FARBER

A Communication

The Road to Permanent Peace

SIR: I have read with very deep interest "America and the Postwar World," written by you and printed as a special section of The New Republic [November 29]. What I am about to say must not be in any sense construed as a criticism of your supplement.

I desire to call your attention to what seems to me to be an omission of the most important of all the ideas that should be taken into consideration in shaping the postwar world. There is, I believe, a unanimous sentiment in the civilized world that the victory we are about to obtain in World War II must be followed by a peace that shall be everlasting and permanent, otherwise the struggle is not worth the sacrifice in human lives that has been necessary to make this victory possible. . . .

We are very properly demanding an unconditional surrender of the enemy. That we will ultimately obtain such a surrender I have no doubt whatever. When that surrender takes place, the terms of peace can be, and will be, fixed by the victors, and the Allied nations will have it in their power to be the architects of a new world.

It seems to me the fundamental and underlying principle that must be firmly established for the postwar world is

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a complete disarmament of our enemies, and the proper provisions in the Treaty of Peace that shall make such disarmament a permanent and lasting order. Victory will be of little consequence, unconditional surrender will not bring perpetual peace, unless we establish firmly and solidly upon the ruins of our enemies' fortifications a complete disarmament that will be lasting and eternal.

I am wondering why our leaders the world over, able and distinguished writers as you gentlemen are, have not made permanent disarmament the real cornerstone of the peace that shall follow our victory and the surrender of our enemies. There can be no war unless the aggressor nations are equipped with military armament and all modern means of military murder. Without armament an army cannot fight. Therefore a nation that is kept in a state of disarmament can wage no war of any kind so long as that condition prevails. Permanent disarmament is therefore necessary for a permanent peace. Without an army, and without armament, Germany, Italy and Japan would be as harmless as a crazy bee without a stinger.

After the surrender these nations will be completely harmless. We can disarm them as we please, and we can provide in the Treaty of Peace that such disarmament shall be made permanent and lasting. Every submarine of the enemy should be sunk to the bottom of the sea. Every armed ship should be absolutely and completely destroyed. Every factory producing arms, bombs or other military material should be razed to the ground and made impossible of reconstruction. Such disarmament must include the prevention of standing armies.

Contrary to the general belief, when disarmament has been completely established, it will not be difficult to make such disarmament permanent. A nation without any manufacturing establishment to produce materials of war . . . without any means of equipping an army . . . will find it absolutely impossible to take the first step in preparation for war. . . .

Small bodies of armed men will perhaps for a brief time be necessary in the conquered countries to see that [among other terms] the covenant of disarmament is not broken. Production of the materials of war cannot be carried on in secret. Such preparations will be open to the eyes, not only of military authorities but to civilians as well, the world over. A Treaty of Peace should contain provisions that would empower the victorious nations to appoint committees of inspection, and such committees could easily discover any attempt to violate the covenants laid down in the treaty. . . .

We must remember, also, that in these enemy countries there are a large number of people who do not agree with their governments in the warlike preparations they have made and in the organization and equipment of huge armies for the purpose of conquest. These people would be a nucleus around which a new government would grow up.

We should fully realize that the Treaty of Peace is made in reality for the benefit of untold millions who are now sleeping in the womb of time and who, when born, will be innocent of any of the crimes of which the leaders of these enemy countries are now guilty, and in the course of a few years the guilty ones—the ones who are now living and who are to blame for the sentiment of murder and human destruction in these nations—would have passed away. Their places would be taken by those who are now unborn, who are innocent of any crime, and who would welcome the setting up of a government whose foundations would be the everlasting principles of human justice, human liberty and lasting peace.

Even those now alive would soon see that they had been living a false life, compelled unwillingly to spend all their energies and their toil in the upbuilding of military establishments, the only object of which was to destroy human life. Instead of devoting all their time and all their ability and all their energy to make possible the building of huge military establishments for the purpose of conquest, they would be able to devote themselves to a life of peace and international friendship, and the change in circumstances, the brighter and the higher life, would be apparent to all. We should give encouragement to that spirit, we should help to build up in the enemy countries a condition in which hate and revenge, murder and conquest would appear in their true and frightful aspect, and before many years the new world would assume proportions of honesty and human justice that would appeal to the rising generations the world over, both among the enemies and the friends of human freedom.

I know many will say that if we disarm our enemies we should likewise disarm ourselves. It is true that the ideal world would be one free from armies and the murderous weapons that are necessary to maintain huge armies and military equipment, but we must face things as they are, and not as we would have them. It would be unfair and unjust to ask the victorious nations to disarm themselves as soon as they had brought such a condition about in the enemy countries. They would not be willing to, and should not be expected to be willing to risk the chance of rearmament in the enemy countries while the victors were slumbering in passive quietude, with the result that another world war might soon be in the making. . . .

In the coming years, as the subdued nations accept the righteous judgment of disarmament, gradually the Allied nations would find huge armies and military equipment unnecessary, and little by little, but surely, production of military equipment would grow less and less, until in the years to come we would have practically a disarmed world. . . .

The organization of friendly nations to keep the peace of the world and to prevent another war of human destruction could very well follow the kind of peace treaty that I have briefly outlined. All the things that you have stood for, and so well and ably advocated through the columns of The New Republic, could very well and very beneficially be put into force and effect, but to be successful they must be preceded by the fundamental necessity of a permanent peace that is a permanent disarmament of our enemies. Then, if we are true to our own faith and to the promulgation of the ideals and the intentions that we have spread over the world, the result would be a permanent and lasting peace, of friendship among all nations.

As this program advances, and as its success becomes apparent to civilization, the justness of it would appeal to all thinking men the world over, and as this sentiment grows and becomes part of the life of the citizens and of the nations of the new world, we should treat our former enemies with perfect candor, fairness and justice and in-

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vite their collaboration in any means or methods that will help to make permanent the peace of the world.

When this war is over, the conquered nations will be prostrate. Their peoples will be cold and hungry. We should lend to them, after we have cared for our allies and ourselves, the helping hand, no matter what crime their ancestors may have been guilty of. We must make this sacrifice, not in the interests of the guilty ones who now live, but in the interest and for the protection of those who are unborn and who are innocent.

It seems so clear that permanent disarmament must be the fundamental backbone of the Treaty of Peace that shall follow our victory that the argument cannot be questioned. If disarmament is necessary for a permanent peace, then why not have disarmament when we have it in our power to get it? If armament is necessary to get ready for another world war, then why not prevent such armament, and if we cannot have a world war without armament, then why not prevent that armament and avoid the war?

McCook, Nebr. GEORGE W. NORRIS

[We have agreed with Senator Norris more frequently than with anyone else in public life, and we agree with him now that Germany and Japan ought to be permanently disarmed. The supplement to which he refers mentioned this aim and indicated ways in which disarmament might be enforced; it failed to emphasize the subject only because this is one of the matters on which public opinion in this country is most nearly unanimous.

When it comes to destroying all German munitions industry, however, that, under modern conditions, is equivalent to destroying almost all industry, since conversion and reconversion may be achieved quickly, and is not even necessary in many cases. We cannot imagine a future for the people who inhabit central Europe, or for the people of all of Europe, if German industry were destroyed. Even Japan will be dependent on industry in a peaceful economy. It is just because the fundamental equipment for rearming cannot be destroyed in the modern world without destroying a people's capacity to sustain themselves and contribute to the general welfare, that our emphasis lay on other aspects of the peace. – THE EDITORS]

The Bandwagon

Postmaster General Walker's ruling that Esquire magazine should be barred from the second-class mails was described today by Representative Compton of Connecticut, Republican, as "a blow to morale that will be of more concern to the boys abroad than all the hullabaloo over the soldiers' vote." – *From The Kansas City Times.*

Mrs. Thayer: "It is of greatest importance that in time of war we do not go off into race hatred."

Gannon: "Are you a Communist? This sounds like their doctrine." – *Chester F. Gannon, Legionnaire and key Republican member of the California State Assembly, conducting an "investigation" into the Japanese evacuee situation, as quoted in Time.*

Democracy in Action

Missouri officers are seeking the identity of an Arkansas truck driver who is said to have instigated a disturbance involving 200 white men and five St. Louis Negroes at Hayti, Mo., last night. . . . The Negroes were fined on a peace disturbance charge. – *From The Arkansas Gazette.*

Let Joy Be Unconfined

Crowds everywhere were gayer and larger than those of last year. Even in Sing Sing Prison special permission was granted to the inmates to rattle their cell doors, sing and shout as the hand of the clock slipped past midnight. – *From The New York Times.*

Where's That Again?

Lift your pretty chin and powder your *throat and shoulders*, too. With romantic low-cut fashions revealing the creamy curves of your decolletage, don't stop with the tip of your chin, don't leave a distracting line of demarcation—but powder, powder, powder right down to *there.* – *An advertisement of Lucien Lelong's face powder in The New York Herald Tribune.*

On the Home Front

George Raft gave Peggy Ellis, Copacabana showgirl, 20 pairs of nylons. – *From Earl Wilson's column in The New York Post.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

Guérard v. Culbertson

SIR: It is unfortunate that the editors saw fit to entrust to Albert Guérard the review of my book, "Total Peace," in the December 27 issue of The New Republic. The reason this choice is unfortunate is that Mr. Guérard is known to advocate ideas in many respects diametrically and violently opposite to mine. This is particularly true in the case of his pet plan for a Federal Europe, in which France, Germany, Italy and other European nations, having divested themselves of their sovereignty, would become the European "nation," living happily thereafter, free from the "domination" of Britain, Russia or the United States.

In "Total Peace" I analyze this problem among others and explain why a United States of Europe must remain an idle dream until and unless an adequate substitute for power politics is developed within the broader framework of world collective security. I am also in sympathy with a closer union of the Europeans, provided the enormous organized power of such a union could never be used for wars of aggression by totalitarian cliques. I point out that so long as power politics prevails, a Federal Europe could easily become a dreadful menace to the United States or Russia or Britain. We are fighting even now against a "united" Europe under Hitler.

I believe that nationalism is the dominant force of today and will so remain for a long time to come. Mr. Guérard believes that in Europe there will be only one "nation"—Europeans. He is preparing a book on "The European Nation," which is to me the height of unrealism. Mr. Guérard loves France. I love France too, but seek to serve her differently. Mr. Guérard is

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interested in a European citizenship. I am interested in a world citizenship, and seek to lay the foundations for it.

Mr. Guérard is a brilliant writer, a sincere patriot (both French and American) and no doubt wants to be fair. But under the circumstances he would be a blindfolded Statue of Justice if he did not succumb, consciously or unconsciously, to his own bias.

I do not think it was in very good taste to resort to the technique originated by the French politician-writers who would begin their criticism of an adversary by deftly planting a number of suggestive words which are foggy enough to leave a faint, malodorous whiff impugning the motives of the writer. Mr. Guérard states, for instance, that my World Federation Plan is "based on a set of ideas which would do credit" to Homer Lea or Haushofer. Any page of "Total Peace" is an emphatic denial of such a fascist implication. Nor is it true to state, as Mr. Guérard does, that "he [Culbertson] is a Russo-American hybrid who has never found his equilibrium, a revolutionist turned anti-revolutionary." I do not object here to the word "hybrid" (although it is neither polite nor funny), since we all are—and that includes Mr. Guérard—more or less mixed animals. But I am not "anti-revolutionary," if by that Mr. Guérard implies again something fascist. Every page of "Total Peace" is in defense of democracy, and this defense is not being accomplished by windy rigmarole à la Guérard, but by specific proposals for a world that makes sense.

It is true that Mr. Guérard tries to appease me by throwing the bone of calling me "a virulent idealist," but he takes it right back by calling me a bluffer.

Mr. Guérard triumphantly concludes with the following statement, the only concrete one: "Until we free our thought from the triple incubus, the sovereign nation, the profit motive and the party system, there will be little hope of safe and steady progress." Just like that! Considering this very large order, it means in practice that there is no hope whatsoever for many generations to come, even under Mr. Guérard's system!

Thus, Albert Guérard has managed to demolish both the author and the critic.

New York City ELY CULBERTSON

SIR: I sincerely appreciate the courteous tone of Mr. Culbertson's letter. I realize we are working toward the same goal: our differences are strictly within the family. We both want a world commonwealth realistically organized for peace (no Kellogg Pact!); and we both believe in regional federations and unions within the world commonwealth. We differ about the boundaries of some of these unions. Europe West of the Curzon Line seems to me a more natural unit than those he proposes; but the principle is the same. My line of thought is not utopian, but traditional. For at least a thousand years, there has been a Europe, *i. e.*, a consciousness of cultural unity, and all wars have been civil wars. . . .

Our chief difference is that I have no faith in material devices *per se*. Peace is of the spirit. The spirit, in order to have power, must translated itself into organization; but first must come the spirit: "In the beginning was the Word." That is why I believe in a Constituent Assembly, which is an act of faith, rather than in a peace treaty, which merely registers the balance of forces on armistice day. A treaty closes a crisis; a Constituent Assembly opens an era. But I refuse to prescribe what the Constituent Assembly is to do with its power.

Mr. Culbertson was right to resent the word *hybrid*. Racial or cultural purity (hundred-percentism) is a delusion. The finest products are hybrids—culturally like Dante or Milton, biologically like the English race horses.

I do not believe that tribalism and greed (nationalism and the profit system) are obstacles to peace. I do not minimize their power. That is why the peace we both work for will remain precarious, and require "eternal vigilance." But we must make a start, and that in our own minds. Our progress will not be "safe and steady": it will have to be fought for at every step. Not only, as Mr. Culbertson says, for many generations, but until the end of the world.

Stanford University, Calif. ALBERT GUÉRARD

The Frank Case

SIR: Your issue of November 29, page 733, does Ex-Gov. John M. Slaton a grave injustice and me a lesser one.

You say, "John M. Slaton, Governor of Georgia at the time of the trial, was also convinced of Frank's innocence, but refused to pardon him, according to Powell's testimony, because 'he realized that unless he let Frank be hanged he would forfeit all his political popularity and ambitions.'" I said no such thing; I said the opposite. Governor Slaton, though threatened with death, or worse, by the mob, and knowing full well that he was thereby forfeiting his political popularity and ambitions, commuted Frank's sentence, whereupon the mob lynched Frank and attempted to lynch the Governor or to destroy his home.

The information I had came to me after Frank had been finally convicted and his sentence affirmed by the higher court. It came to me as an attorney, and if I were to reveal it without consent of my client or until his death, I would violate the oath I took when I was admitted to the bar and would be subject to disbarment proceedings. I may add that my client was not the killer.

My book was not about the Frank case, and you have garbled an incidental reference to that unfortunate occurrence.

Atlanta, Ga. A. G. POWELL

[We regret that we were misled by a press association dispatch into a statement unfair to Governor Slaton and to Mr. Powell. – THE EDITORS]

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Sgt. William F. McNeany, of Fort Riley, Kansas, says that he first learned of Otis Ferguson's death from Cpl. Robert D. Crowley's letter in the December 20 issue of The New Republic. Sergeant McNeany writes: ". . . It is useless for me to try to say more than Crowley has said . . . about what Otis Ferguson, and the things he believed in, meant to all of us who try to keep the graces of life alive. What he meant to me—then, as now, a completely bewildered young man—I cannot hope to express in words. I shall never forget his piece on Jess Stacy, and I still have it, along with all the others I was able to save, back home in a battered old suitcase. Being able to read Ferguson again was one of the things the end of the war was going to mean to me."

E. T. Becker, of Mineola, New York, objects to Sheldon Glueck's article, "Punishing the War Criminals" which appeared in The New Republic of November 22. He points out that Mr. Glueck's position assumes that the Allies are without guilt, and he adds, "as if war could be fought without atrocities, as if a civilized world would wage war!" Mr. Becker submits that he is " . . . all for punishing war criminals, but believe it will do little good to annihilate a few here and there. The real war criminal . . . is the worldwide, monstrous military machine. . . ."

The League for Industrial Democracy informs us of a luncheon, in honor of M. J. Coldwell, Canadian Parliamentary leader of the Coöperative Commonwealth Federation, to be held on January 15, at the Hotel Commodore in New York City. Mr. Coldwell will discuss: "Canadian Progressive Forces on the March."

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Books in Review

Santayana at Harvard

JORGE AGUSTÍN NICOLÁS RUIZ DE SANTAYANA—as I think his name appears on his still Spanish passport—was born in Madrid on December 16, 1863. Less than nine years later he reached Boston, as the result of several unlikely and even preposterous events that he describes at length in his autobiography.[1] Imagine that his mother met Don Agustín de Santayana when they were the only two Europeans on a little island in the Philippines. Imagine that a year or two later she married a New England merchant named George Sturgis, on a British frigate in Manila harbor. Imagine that Sturgis died in the midst of a disastrous business venture and that she transported her four children to Boston, losing one of them on the way. And there were other curious events to follow. Mrs. Sturgis went to Spain for a visit, met Don Agustín again and married him. When little Jorge, the child of this second union, was five years old, she traipsed back to Boston with her Sturgis children. Jorge was sent to follow them three years later, because a series of family misfortunes had left his father alone in the house and unable to care for him. All these accidents—or in philosophical terms, these inevitabilities—were the necessary background of Santayana's career.

If he had remained in Spain, I cannot imagine that he would have become a distinguished philosopher. He would have gone into government service like his father, and he would have written rather florid verse—for his early style showed a tendency toward softness, toward decoration, and in Spain it would have lacked the discipline furnished by writing in a foreign language. There was nothing essentially new in his principles. He said in the fifty-year report of his Harvard class—it was '86—"I think I have changed very little in opinion or temper. I was old when I was young, and I am young now that I am old." Intellectually he was almost two thousand years old when he entered college: he was a Roman of the early empire, a disciple of Lucretius and Democritus. His philosophy was the common sense of the Mediterranean world, which is very different from common sense in New England. Essentially it was a philosophy of submission—first of all to nature, then to the weaknesses of the human body and mind, then finally to constituted governments, even if they are evil, and to the recognized church, even if it is based on a myth.

Although Spain is only in part a Mediterranean country, there are thousands of Spanish intellectuals who agree at heart with these ideas. In Spain, lacking opposition, Santayana might never have bothered to express his common sense as a systematic philosophy. In Boston he seemed a rank heretic, and so he talked and wrote and philosophized to defend his position. Idealism had begun to grow morbid in Boston, and Santayana's pagan ideas were a valuable tonic. They flourished like many importations to a new continent; almost like rabbits and foxes in Australia.

[1] Persons and Places: The Background of My Life, by George Santayana. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 262 pages. $2.50.

And Santayana himself flourished at Harvard. He was poor but brilliant, handsome in a not too foreign way and socially vouched for by his Sturgis relatives. As a sophomore, he played the leading lady in Institute theatricals. His class records show that he was on the staff of The Lampoon; that he helped to found The Harvard Monthly; that he belonged (in alphabetical order) to the Art Club, the Chess Club, the Everett Athenaeum, Hasty Pudding, the Institute of 1770, the O. K. Society, Phi Beta Kappa, the Philosophical Club (president) and the Shakspere Club. Apparently he joined almost everything open to undergraduates—except Porcellian, which was not in reach of his pocketbook, the Christian Brethren and the Total Abstinence League, from both of which he was barred by his principles. He was graduated *summa cum laude*, with honors in philosophy; he received a traveling fellowship and, in due time, he was given a teaching appointment.

During the next ten years, Don Jorge repaid with interest his debt to New England. The 1890's were a dull period there for literature; the great figures had disappeared and nobody had come forward to replace them except genteel imitators; it was what Van Wyck Brooks calls the Age of the Epigoni. Harvard College, however, was in a state of intellectual ferment, to which Santayana contributed more than his share of yeast. Men now in their seventies talk wistfully about the dinners of the O. K. Society, where Santayana often read one of his lighter poems and where his table talk became a legend. Among the younger members of O. K. were Philip Littell, Hutchins Hapgood, Robert Morss Lovett, William Vaughn Moody, Learned Hand, Ellery Sedgwick, Winthrop Ames, Charles M. Flandrau (who gave the best contemporary picture of the period in his "Harvard Episodes"), George Cabot Lodge and Trumbull Stickney. These last two, except perhaps for Moody, had more creative fire than any of their colleagues, but the fire languished and they died very young—"visibly killed," as Santayana said in a letter, "by the lack of air to breathe. People individually were kind and appreciative to them, as they were to me, but the system was deadly, and they hadn't any alternative tradition (as I had) to fall back upon." In spite of the system, Lovett and his college friend Robert Herrick became great teachers of the next generation. The others had less to say, and Santayana could not give them much to supply that deficiency, since his own work is not characterized by vigor or freshness of ideas. What he could and did teach them, chiefly by example, was to talk well and to write in the tone of men used to good conversation. By combining two provincial cultures—for Madrid was even more of a backwater than Boston—he achieved a real cosmopolitanism; and he played somewhat the same role at Harvard that Pater had been playing at Oxford. Then, in 1912, he went back to Europe and eventually settled in Rome, the capital and shrine of the Mediterranean mind.

This first volume of "Persons and Places," which carries Santayana's story down to his graduation from Harvard, contains not a hint or a personal reflection to show that it

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A REPORT TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

Lend-Lease

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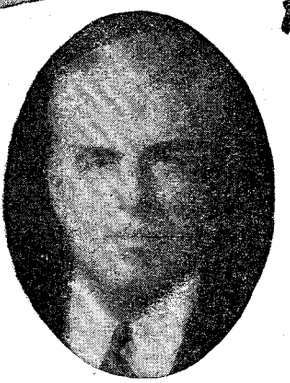
By Edward R. Stettinius, Jr.
UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
written while Administrator of Lend-Lease



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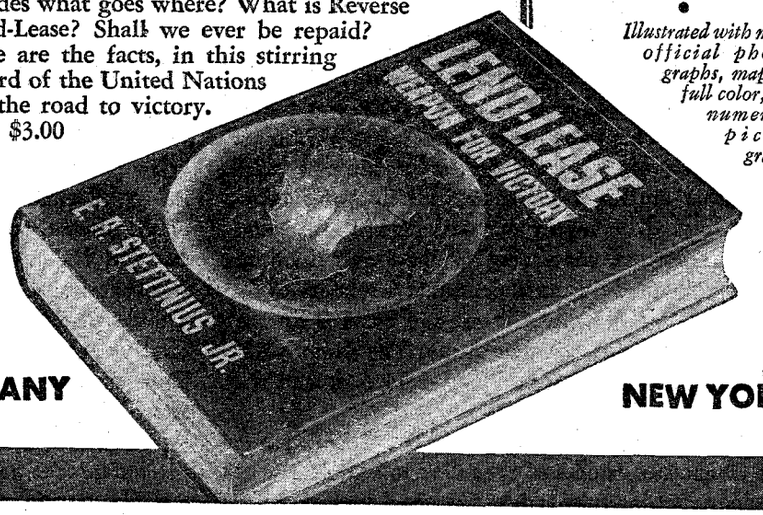

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY **NEW YORK**

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was written during the present war; even the style is detached, ironic and, in its manner, perfect. Indeed, the coolness of the book is a little ostentatious. It is almost as if someone had asked him, "What should writers do in wartime?" and as if, instead of giving a theoretical answer—a manifesto or a call to arms—Santayana had produced this volume which might have been written at any time, at any place, but only by a stylist and a man of wisdom.

Because of its contrast with the shoddy literature that we are being given today, one is tempted to exaggerate the merits of Santayana's prose. "Persons and Places," judged by this first volume, is an admirable work that is far from being the greatest autobiography of our time; it has the art but not the human complexity of Yeats's story. It seems as cold, bare and drafty as a Venetian palace in winter. Santayana warns us that he has "a very short memory, except for such things as I absorb and recast in my own mind." A few of his anecdotes are unforgettable, especially those dealing with his father, who was deaf, skeptical and a hypochondriac. Once, when convinced that he was dying, he was assailed at the same moment by hunger; and his voice boomed through the house as he tried to whisper, "*La Unción y la gallina!*"—"Extreme Unction and a boiled chicken." Santayana's mother refused to join the Roxbury Plato Club on the ground that she had no time. "What do you *do?*" asked the persistent visitor. "In winter," said the Spanish lady, "I try to keep warm, and in summer I try to keep cool." But there are too few of these revealing episodes (which abound in Yeats) and most of Santayana's characters seem wordless and disembodied.

He has a tendency, in talking about people, to pass rapidly from personality to philosophy, so that we seem to be moving in a realm of abstract essences. Moreover, he shows a disturbing lack of affection. There are only two of his many friends whom he praises unreservedly; he met both of them in the Boston Latin School and hasn't bothered to see them since 1882. About the others he makes curiously niggling comments. It is as if, dwelling among ideas, he greeted the world of men with a limp handclasp and a somewhat chilly eye. MALCOLM COWLEY

The Challenge of History

Russia and Postwar Europe, by David J. Dallin. New Haven: Yale University Press. 223 pages. $3.

THE PROBLEM OF OUR RELATIONS with the USSR, a country that will be at once the most potent political influence and the mightiest military force in postwar Europe, is the most important of all the problems we are now facing. Neither upon the Right nor upon the Left is this opinion seriously disputed. Whatever our own political conceptions may be, no proposal concerning relations with the Soviet Union can be sound if it misunderstands the nature of that power and its foreign policy. "Russia and Postwar Europe" sets out to instruct us upon that theme. The author's solution, while it is not systematically expounded, is implicit in every word he writes.

It is nowadays a popular thesis, says Dr. Dallin, that the Soviet Union has abandoned the effort to stimulate world revolution; that internationalism has given way to nationalism and that therefore a plain policy of association, of present aid and postwar guarantees, will serve as a quite effective basis for an enduring peace. In some quarters it is believed even that it would be better to grant the USSR its desired dominion in the Baltic and to tolerate its preeminent influence in the Balkans. These regions, given the Soviet change, will no longer be used as a bridgehead for revolution.

With all such views, whether dressed in liberal or tory language, Dr. Dallin will have nothing to do. He roundly asserts that the foreign policy of the USSR has been persistently expansionist and that it is still so. This expansionism, however, must not be regarded as a "return to the ideas of imperial nationalism." It is a revolutionary imperialism, aimed at pulverizing society and rebuilding it anew. Its scope is far wider than the old tsarist imperialism. And since Communist revolution puts a Russian-led minority in power, it follows that world revolution really means world annexation. At any rate, the USSR is to be regarded as the assembly point, as it were, for all other Soviet Republics that may come into existence. "The International Soviet shall be the human race," as the late Russian anthem declared.

It is perhaps natural that this reviewer should disagree with many of the incidental estimates made in "Russia and Postwar Europe." But discounting prejudice, one feels that time and time again Dr. Dallin is wrong. He recognizes, for example, that "the importance to Soviet Russia of the Spanish war lay not so much in the sphere of communist revolution as in the field of actual foreign policy." Yet his hand is upon the scale when he also says that it seemed to open some prospects, in the event of victory, of a Soviet government in Spain. That Moscow had even weak hopes of this is impossible to believe. Its estimate of the international situation would never have allowed it to advise such a course. Stalin's letter of counsel to Largo Caballero was expressly intended to dissuade that leader from a rash leftism. The policy of the Spanish Communist Party deliberately ruled out even the possibility of Soviets or of any kind of proletarian revolution. Again, while Dr. Dallin has thoroughly grasped the difficulties inherent in Britain's balance-of-power policy, he errs by inconsistency when he says "of all possible international combinations only one has presented and will continue to present a grave, perhaps a fatal, danger to Soviet Russia. This combination is an Anglo-German alliance." The author does not support Dr. Schuman's contention that Britain's policy was to set Russia and Germany at war. Doubtless Moscow regarded the Munich agreements as a potential alliance, but to Mr. Chamberlain's cramped and fearful mind it represented a balance. The other view asks one to believe that the spiritless British leader counseled a bold, even reckless, abandonment of the classical policy of British imperialism. To some extent Dr. Dallin's view also suggests that such a departure was conceivable.

But whatever one may think of these incidental matters, it must be said with clarity that no frontal assault on the main contention of this book could combine honesty and knowledge. One may reject Dr. Dallin's definition of expansionism and his implied beliefs about the nature of revolution. Yet he presents an always learned, almost invariably forceful and often brilliant argument that the Soviet has in no way abandoned its international effort to

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change society. No pettifogging criticism of this or that detail, numerous as the points of objection are, will serve even to turn the edge of his argument. The book is naturally pessimistic in tone. There are, even given Moscow's great skill, grave crises ahead. So long as the Soviet Union utilizes revolutionary sentiments abroad, reconciliation is barely possible and, one adds, so long as people vigorously strike out for a better society we are, by Dr. Dallin's argument, all of us in danger. Political realism suggests that for its completion his thesis should read: the Soviet must become counter-revolutionary as a contribution to peace. A mere Russian crossing of the Vistula and its intrusion into the Balkans will cause, he says, world opinion to harden in just that way which Moscow has always described as encirclement.

The author argues that Russian foreign policy has been a mass of error, because it is based upon a false philosophy. Yet it seems to this reader that, upon the evidence he presents, only once has a critical blunder seemed to spring from an underlying theoretical misconception. In 1933 and 1934 the Soviet made use of a disastrously false estimate of the Nazi potential. Undoubtedly, that error rested upon an erroneous theory of political tactics. The turn from hostility toward the British Empire to an attempted *rapprochement* with it would have been difficult in any event, but so delayed, it was even more so. Catastrophic as a later blunder was, one is inclined, on forty-second thought, to believe that it did not spring from any philosophic root.

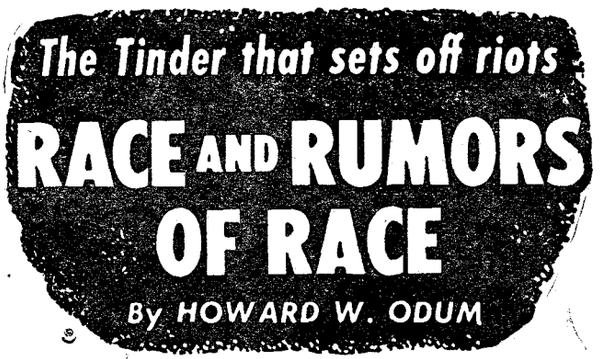
But if no frontal assault on Dr. Dallin's reading of the diplomatic records is possible, most certainly its underlying assumption is totally inacceptable. The author deliberately puts aside all analysis of the social problem of Europe. Yet he seems to have a secret dread of revolution, while denying that there is much chance of its breaking out. In any event, while he admits that the Messianic idea of communism is the abolition of war, he shows no awareness that European society needs drastic reconstruction, that so long as the present forms exist, neither a Four Power Alliance nor a League of Nations can solve the problem of war.

Is there any solution? The author, in his weakest chapter, discovers in Russia a serious political conflict between the Red Army and the Party. Upon the outcome of this struggle the future of Europe seems to depend. The quicker progression toward nationalism consequent upon an Army victory over the Party will enable our statesmen to make an honest agreement with Russia. However, history does not seem to be offering us this dubious facility. One must therefore look about for other solutions. Dr. Dallin implicitly suggests one. Another he discloses inadvertently. His real trust, one gathers, is in the Bible and the sword, or in adroitly exhibited air power and a sheaf of mutual guarantees. He is less truculent in language than Max Eastman, yet fundamentally his doctrine is: Abandon revolution or else! Over and above this, his book might well serve as defense for our own "legitimist" policy of checking all popular democratic expression until our armies constitute an effective third power in Europe and have rehabilitated now discredited persons, classes and parties. One imagines that Dr. Dallin is presently nervous because of our apparent approach to the Yugoslav people's government.

A vigorous, practical liberalism does not need to insist that the Soviet Union give up its internationalism. On the contrary, it should welcome that internationalism and collaborate with it. Dr. Dallin recognizes that the epoch is not one in which the Soviet is likely to approve of raging October Revolutions. In Germany, the author admits, Stalin desires a democratic regime, because a large, powerful Communist Party can be built only within a democracy. In this Dr. Dallin is really of service, for a solution lies hidden here. The democracies must accept the challenge of communism, which is none other than the challenge of history, and they must do this within the framework of a vigorous, reconstructive democracy. If it be retorted that collaboration with communists merely strengthens a party that in the long run means to do away with democracy, then the answer must be that the fear shows little belief in the attractiveness and possibilities of a democratic way of life. It is not a war for democracy, Dr. Dallin insists, but rather a war for national independence. Yet, in his final pages, he hints that abandonment of revolution would influence the world's attitude towards the Soviet's "imperialist" absorption of the Baltic States. So long as the peace is counter-revolutionary, it seems that a few minor nations may be sacrificed.

The revealing inconsistency points up a very significant lack in the book. It contains no consistent account, much less social analysis, of Anglo-American wartime diplomacy. For the author there is only one state and one philosophy seeking to mold European society. That the old society has in reality collapsed and that two conflicting waves of influence are beating in on Europe he does not see. Quite naturally, therefore, he cannot think in terms of compromise, or better, of synthesis.

RALPH BATES



RACIAL conflicts are founded on tensions which are fed by rumor. In this remarkable book are tracked down and analyzed over 2000 inflammatory rumors prevalent in the South during the past two years—from the relatively harmless "Eleanor Club" stories to invitations to violence of the kind typified by: "The Negroes have bought up all the ice-picks in town and are just waiting for the next blackout." RACE AND RUMORS OF RACE holds a mirror up to certain American communities with disquieting results, for the pattern of the rumors shows clearly how deep the cancer lies and how great the task of education and adjustment that lies ahead.

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CHAPEL HILL

The University of North Carolina Press

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Cabbage Soup and Caviar

A Treasury of Russian Life and Humor. Edited, with an introduction by John Cournos. New York: Coward-McCann, Inc. 706 pages. $3.75.
A Treasury of Russian Literature. Selected and edited, with a foreword and biographical and critical notes, by Bernard Guilbert Guerney. New York: Vanguard Press. 1,072 pages. $3.95.

SOME FIFTY WRITERS are represented in Mr. Cournos' anthology and some thirty in Mr. Guerney's. Except that the latter goes much farther back into the past while the former includes a much greater number of contemporary authors, both volumes cover much the same ground. Both contain Gogol's "Overcoat" and his "Inspector General"; Pushkin's "Queen of Spades"; Lermontov's ballad about Kalashnikov, the amateur pugilist; and Bunin's "Gentleman from San Francisco." Both have Sologub—that very minor writer for whom England and America show such an unaccountable predilection. Both open with the rather too obvious prose poem by Turgenev concerning the greatness of the Russian language. Both republish some of Baring's excellent translations of Russian lyrics. Here the similarity ends.

A good example of Mr. Cournos' powers of interpretation is afforded by his explanation that Blok wrote "The Scythians" because he was angry "when British and French troops were sent to intervene on behalf of the Whites." A glance at Blok's diary would have revealed to Mr. Cournos that the poem was prompted by the Allies' refusal to sign peace with Germany as urged by the Soviets in the days of Brest-Litovsk. Blok warns the Allies that if this plea, "the last call to a bright fraternal feast on the part of a barbaric lyre," is not heeded, gigantic, slant-eyed Russia will be through with the West. Mr. Cournos misses the point completely and mistranslates the penultimate stanza (and the one before) in a most astounding manner, making utter nonsense of the text. Thus Mr. Cournos:

> We shall close our ranks like the savage Hun, ghoul-like, rifle the pockets of corpses, burn down towns, drive human hordes into churches and roast the flesh of our white brothers.

And Blok:

> We shall not budge when the fierce Hun begins to rummage in the pockets of corpses and to burn towns and herd horses into churches and to roast the flesh of his white brothers.

The style of Mr. Cournos' introduction agrees with the quality of the translations in the volume. The conventional, dull, inexact versions by Constance Garnett are supposed to be samples of Gogol and Turgenev. The chunks of Dostoevsky are of the same cardboard quality. I do not know who is responsible for the "translation" of Gogol's "Overcoat," but really one wonders what on earth is the use of printing or reprinting this abominable version, which flaunts more omissions and blunders than poor Akaki Akakyevich's old cloak had holes.

The number of contemporary second-class and third-class writers welcomed by Mr. Cournos greatly exceeds the necessity for their existence. I was particularly impressed by one gem. It is a story of a certain Alexander Poliakov, which Mr. Cournos introduces with the cry "How closely akin to life is Russian realism!" The story is about a dog which Russian soldiers take prisoner:

> "Well, let's give him a name," said someone. From all sides came suggestions: "Fascist," "Gangster," "Adolf," "Hitler," "Goebbels" and so forth. "None of these will do, boys," Dormidontov interrupted his friends. His eyes flashed gayly as he drawled in a mock reproachful tone: "Comrades, is it really proper to give such a name to a dog? Why insult an animal?" His words were drowned out in a loud burst of laughter [realism! humor!]. "Then what name shall we give him?" insisted the tankmen. "Well," said Dormidontov, "we took the dog along with other German war materials. He's one of our trophies. Let's call him Trophy" [paragraph]. This suggestion was enthusiastically accepted [paragraph]. Several months passed [period]. Trophy became inseparable from the battalion. He quickly grew accustomed to his new name [I cannot stop quoting]. He was particularly attached to Dormidontov and when the jolly driver was away with his group, Trophy visibly missed him. All the tankmen became fond of the big pointer. They especially . . .

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No, this is not a parody, this is a "true story" (*teste* Mr. Cournos), but it is curious how often stark realism and "simplicity" are synonymous with the tritest and most artificial literary conventionalities imaginable. The plot is so easy to deduce that it hardly needs to be hinted at. "The bold and intelligent pointer made three more trips with ammunition." As a matter of fact the bold and intelligent pointer had made—oh, many, many more trips than that in his steady course from magazine to magazine, in all countries, through all wars. Innumerable times, tamed by innumerable lady writers and fireside correspondents, has the "intelligent animal bounded forward as though he understood clearly what was wanted of him." Mark you: "as though." Soviet literature, being human, never despised the oldest bourgeois clichés (the *avant-garde* touch being of course automatically supplied by political enlightenment), but I doubt whether the kindest Soviet critic would approve of this trash.

Compared with the translations in Mr. Cournos' volume, those by Mr. Guerney seem close to perfection. The two great qualities of his work are: a rich, pliant vocabulary and a gallant determination to render the original in full. One feels he loves tricky passages for the pleasure derived from the English quadrature of a Russian circle. The ingenuity of his verbal devices is so brilliant that at times the result seems a trifle too elegant, not to say precious (which on the whole is only welcome after the drabness one is accustomed to in these matters). Thus his rendering of Gogol's "Overcoat," although admirable in many respects (it is of course incomparably better than all previous attempts), does not quite convey the chaotic grammar, the splutter, the mumble, the nightmare logic (*e. g.*, that "old mother" which crops up in the description of the hero's birth) and the other irrational values of the prodigious story.

Mr. Guerney has also tackled "The Twelve." This is a bumpy poem—but then the bulk of Blok's writings is a heterogeneous mixture of violas and vulgarity. He was a superb poet with a muddled mind. Something somber in him and fundamentally reactionary (reminded sometimes of Dostoevsky's political articles), a murky vista with a bonfire of books at the end, led him away from his genius as soon as he started to think. Authentic communists were quite right in not taking him seriously. His "Twelve" is a failure, and no wonder its strangely irrelevant end made one Soviet critic remark: "It was hardly worth while climbing our mountain to cap it (*nakhlobuchit'*) with a medieval shrine." Guerney's version of it is not on the level of his prose translations, and certain passages are quite incorrectly rendered. The long-haired passer-by who bewails the betrayal of Russia is meant to represent the liberal-minded, second-rate, widely read writer of the general pre-revolution period, such as, say, Korolenko or Chirikov, and not at all "some writing gent paid a penny a line," as Mr. Guerney has it.

Again, although exquisitely worded, the translation of the celebrated "Lay of the Host of Igor" (presumed to have been composed by an unknown minstrel of unique genius at the end of the twelfth century) is not free from certain slips. Instead of the smooth, lovely Persian miniature that Guerney makes of it, one would have preferred a really scholarly presentation of the thing, fattened on copious footnotes and enlivened by a thorough discussion of the various readings and obscurities which have been the distress and delight of Russian commentators. Even if it be accepted that in one mysterious passage the reference is to a squirrel a-running all over a tree, still this animal is not the impossible "flying squirrel" which Mr. Guerney sends "soaring away" "over a tree's bark." I also question a couple of other zoölogical details: the "tawny" wolf, whose coat is of a different color in the original text, and the "linnet," which is generically quite distinct from the bird mentioned therein. But it would be ungrateful to pick out flaws in this or the other translations by Mr. Guerney. This seems to be the first Russian anthology ever published that does not affect one with the feeling of intense irritation produced by the omissions, the blunders, the flat, execrable English of more or less well meaning hacks.

VLADIMIR NABOKOV

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Devils and Angels

How to Treat the Germans, by Emil Ludwig. New York: Willard Publishing Company. 96 pages. $1.
The Secret of Soviet Strength, by Hewlett Johnson. New York: International Publishers. 160 pages. $1.50.

EMIL LUDWIG is out to save the Germans from themselves. Unfortunately his German is as mythical and nonexistent a figure as the Nazis'. Searching for causes, Ludwig only finds symptoms. His psychology is that of the street-corner philosopher. His history is both naïve and unhistorical. His economics is altogether absent. His semantics inextricably mingles statements of fact and statements of value. Hence his remedies are as unreal as fairy tales.

His reading of German politics, especially during the Weimar Republic, is so full of mistakes that they could be corrected only in an "Anti-Ludwig." One example: it must be news to most historians that the Germans "disliked and boycotted the Weimar constitution at once." For in the June, 1920, Reichstag elections the parties of the so-called Weimar Coalition polled nearly 14,000,000 votes, as against the approximately 8,000,000 of the nationalist parties.

Nobody can deny the existence of powerful reactionary parties in Weimar Germany, but the failure of democratic Germany has as little to do with the "German character"—if there is such a thing as a "national character"—as the debacle of the Hoover administration in this country with the "American character." Ludwig's dogmatism can only be harmful to an understanding of the problem of Germany.

The Dean of Canterbury's second book on the Soviet Union continues to move on the same high-school level of sophistication and interpretation as his previous effort. While he warns his readers in the preface against "a too rosy optimistic view of life in the Soviet Union," he does not seem to have taken this advice to heart. What makes a British clergyman such an enthusiastic admirer of the Soviet Union? He answers this question himself: "Russia's strength, to put it in a nutshell, lies in her moral and scientific achievements. Russia has introduced moral principle and scientific method into the heart of productive life. That is the prime cause of her matchless strength." The book is dedicated to underlining this statement.

The author discusses perfunctorily all the major phases of life in the Soviet Union, the industrialization of the country, the collectivization of agriculture, the solution of the nationality problem, the educational system, etc. Perhaps most useful is the chapter on "Roads to Religion," as it explains to a large extent the author's preference for communism over capitalism. "To the Communist," he writes, "as to the Christian, community is paramount. . . . The Communist puts the Christian to shame in the thoroughness of his quest for a harmonious society." He concludes: ". . . . if communism cannot be regarded by religious men as the end of the whole life process, it marks a most significant step in religious development." Otherwise the book adds nothing new to our knowledge of the Soviet Union.

HEINZ H. F. EULAU

Contributors

JUAN RODOLFO WILCOCK was born in Buenos Aires in 1920. Educated as an engineer, he won the Municipal poetry prize for his "Book of Poems and Songs," published in 1940; he contributes to Sur and La Nación, and directs the poetry magazine, Verde Memoria.

GERALD WENDT is science editor with Time, Inc., publications. He is the author of "Science for the World of Tomorrow."

MARIE PAKE is a native Alabaman who has done magazine, publicity and newspaper work in New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco and Montgomery, Alabama. She is now living in Mill Valley, California.

GEORGE W. NORRIS, dean of American liberals, represented Nebraska in Congress, first as a Representative, 1903-13, then as Senator, 1913-43.

RALPH BATES's latest book is "The Undiscoverables."

VLADIMIR NABOKOV is a Russian novelist, the author, among other books, of "The Real Life of Sebastian Knight," published by New Directions, which is also publishing his critical study of Gogol and a translation of Pushkin, Lermontov and Tutchev.

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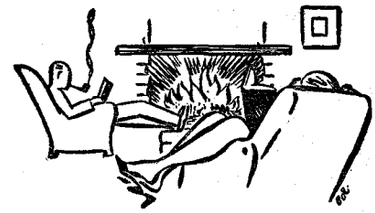

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